Vol.....of.....vols. | cl.....V568

METROPOLITAN BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

HITHER GREEN BRANCH LIBRARY,

TORRIDON ROAD, S.E.6.

CHARGE NUMBER B1845

The Public Libraries of the Borough of Lewisham are as follows :—

Reference Library, Lending Library and Newsrooms:
CENTRAL LIBRARY, High Street, Lewisham, S.E.13

Lending Library and Newsrooms:
FOREST HILL BRANCH, Dartmouth Road, S.E.23
MANOR HOUSE E
SYDENHAM BRA
BROCKLEY BRAI
HITHER GREEN
DOWNHAM BRAN

The Lending Librarie
employed within the bounda
are open for the issue and e
year from **10 a.m. to 8 p.**
Day, Good Friday and Ban
of any special closing that m

Borrowers may obtain tickets
two tickets. Tickets may be
used at any of the seven Libraries
of the Borough. A book must be
returned to the Library from
which it was obtained. Tickets
must be renewed annually. Books
may be reserved.

A Borrower may retain a book
for home reading for 14 days; the
date last stamped upon the fly
leaf within the book cover is the
last day upon which it may be
retained without charge. There-
after, a fine of TWO PENCE
shall be payable by the Borrower
for each week or part of a week
during which the book is retained.

Books cannot be exchanged on
the day of issue, but otherwise no
limit is placed upon the frequency
with which a Borrower may make
his exchange.

In cases of Infectious Disease,
notice must at once be given by
the Borrower to the Medical
Officer of Health at the Town
Hall, who will attend to the
matter without cost to the
Borrower.

14279
M.S.C
VICTORIA
LETTERS OF
QUEEN VICTORIA
Vol I
1869)

E. G. Berryman & Sons, Ltd., Blackheath Road, S.E.10.

(12)

942.081
VIC

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM

LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT

BOOK STORE

Books must be returned on or before the last date stamped below or on the date card. ~~Fines on overdue books will be charged:— ½d per day for the first week (1d minimum), 1d per day for the second week. 2d per day thereafter.~~

Books are renewable by phone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader.

ALL LIBRARIES are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays, and the Saturdays prior to Bank Holidays.

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

2) 18·8·69

DUE 31/1/75

LASER due:
10/7/80+2
HAVERING

THE
LETTERS OF QUEEN VICTORIA

SECOND SERIES

VOL. I

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES
Hither Green
BRANCH

Other Volumes on Queen Victoria

THE LETTERS OF QUEEN VICTORIA

A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence between the years 1837—1861. Edited by A. C. BENSON and VISCOUNT ESHER, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. Published by Authority of His Majesty the King. With 40 Photogravures. 3 Vols. £3 3s. net.—*Cheap Edition.* Complete in 3 Vols. With 16 Illustrations. 6s. net.—Also 3 Vols. (*Murray's Library Edition*), 2s. net each Volume.

THE GIRLHOOD OF QUEEN VICTORIA

A Selection from Her Majesty's Diaries between the years 1832—1840. Published by Authority of His Majesty the King. With Illustrations. 2 Vols. £1 16s. net.

TRAINING OF A SOVEREIGN

An Abridged Selection from "The Girlhood of Queen Victoria," being Her Majesty's Diaries between the years 1832—1840. Published by Authority of His Majesty the King. Edited, with an Introduction, by VISCOUNT ESHER. With Illustrations. 5s. net.

LEAVES FROM THE JOURNAL OF OUR LIFE IN THE HIGHLANDS, FROM 1848 TO 1861

With Extracts from the same Journal giving an Account of Earlier Visits to Scotland, and Tours in England and Ireland, and Yachting Excursions. Edited by SIR ARTHUR HELPS. Illustrated. 42s. net.—With 2 Illustrations. 10s. 6d. net.

MORE LEAVES FROM THE JOURNAL OF A LIFE IN THE HIGHLANDS, FROM 1862 TO 1882

With Portraits and Illustrations. 10s. 6d. net.—*Pocket Edition.* 2s. 6d. net.

QUEEN VICTORIA

A Biography. By SIR SIDNEY LEE. Illustrated. 10s. 6d. net and 6s. net.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

H.M. Queen Victoria, 1864.
From a picture by A. Graefle.

THE LETTERS OF QUEEN VICTORIA

SECOND SERIES

A SELECTION FROM HER MAJESTY'S CORRESPONDENCE AND JOURNAL BETWEEN THE YEARS 1862 AND 1878

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF
HIS MAJESTY THE KING

EDITED BY GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

1862–1869

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1926

LEWISHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES,
HITHER GREEN BRANCH.
Stock No. 14279
Register No. 131845
Call No. V568

Copyright in Great Britain, its Dominions, Colonies and Dependencies, including Ireland, 1925, *by* H.M. THE KING

All rights reserved

Printed in Great Britain by
Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ld., London and Aylesbury

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

PREFACE

His Majesty the King has decided that the time has come when a further instalment of selections from *The Letters of Queen Victoria* may properly be published. The First Series, which appeared, under King Edward's authority, in three volumes in 1907, and which was edited by the late Dr. Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Esher, brought the Royal correspondence down to the death of the Prince Consort in December 1861. The two present volumes, forming the Second Series, carry the story on to the close of 1878.

The nature of the extraordinary collection of State documents, stored, as Royal Archives, in the Round Tower of Windsor Castle, was indicated in the Preface to the First Series. Briefly, they contain, in addition to many important records of previous reigns, a series of letters from each of the Queen's Prime Ministers, detailing proceedings of Cabinets and Parliament, and discussing the most important political questions as they arose; from other Cabinet Ministers, dealing with the affairs of their departments; from monarchs and royal personages, particularly the two Leopolds, Kings of the Belgians, her Majesty's uncle and cousin, and the Crown Princess of Germany and other members of German Royal Families; and from private friends of Queen

Victoria, such as Baron Stockmar and Sir Theodore Martin. In a very large number of cases there are drafts or copies of the Queen's replies; and the representatives of some of her Majesty's correspondents have returned her original letters to the Royal Archives—a practice highly to be encouraged in order to make the collection historically complete. There are also Memoranda by the Queen, and by other political personages of distinction, on various important questions of home, imperial, and foreign policy. Moreover, as Dr. Benson and Lord Esher explain, "there are volumes concerned with the affairs of almost every European country" and, it may be added, of all the Dominions and the more important British possessions; "with the history of India, the British Army, the Civil List, the Royal Estates, and all the complicated machinery of the Monarchy and the Constitution."[1] In addition to these, the present Editor has been privileged to have access to the written volumes of Queen Victoria's private Journal, which have been compiled, under the authority of King Edward and of his present Majesty, by the Princess Beatrice, to whom the Queen left the manuscript, with instructions to modify or destroy any portions which appeared, in her Royal Highness's judgment, to be unsuitable for preservation. Outside the Royal Archives, the following collections of letters from Queen Victoria have been kindly placed at the Editor's disposal: those to Lord Derby, the Prime Minister, and to his son, best known as Foreign Minister, by the present Lord Derby and the late Lord Sanderson; those to Lord Beaconsfield, by the Beaconsfield Trustees; those to Lord

[1] The records of King Edward's and King George's reigns are, of course, being carefully preserved at Windsor in similar fashion.

Charles FitzRoy, afterwards Duke of Grafton, for many years one of her Majesty's equerries, by the present Duke; and some of those to Lord Palmerston, by Colonel Ashley and Lord Riddell.

The principle of selection adopted in the First Series has been maintained in the Second. It became clear to the present Editor, as to his predecessors, that "the only satisfactory plan was to publish specimens of such documents as would serve to bring out the development of the Queen's character and disposition, and to give typical instances of her methods in dealing with political and social matters." His aim, like theirs, "has been to infringe as little as possible upon the space available for the documents themselves, and to provide just sufficient comment to enable an ordinary reader, without special knowledge of the period, to follow the course of events."

In one vital respect the story set forth in these volumes differs widely from that told in the First Series. "Up to the year 1861," write Dr. Benson and Lord Esher, "the Queen's career was one of unexampled prosperity." Prosperous, indeed, and crowned with public blessings her career as Queen and Empress continued to the end. But her domestic happiness, at the close of 1861, was for the time shattered by the sudden and untimely death of a husband, the nobility of whose public and private character and his unwearied service to the State were revealed to the world in Sir Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*. In 1862, the first year dealt with in the present series, Queen Victoria had to resume alone the burden of the constitutional government of a mighty state and empire, and the headship of a large family, few of whom were grown up. She herself at the Prince Consort's death

was 42 years old. Her eldest daughter, Victoria Princess Royal, though only 21, was happily married to the Crown Prince of Prussia, and was the mother of two children; her eldest son and heir, Albert Edward Prince of Wales, was just 20, and the idea of a marriage between him and Princess Alexandra of Denmark had already been entertained by the Queen and the Prince Consort; Princess Alice was 18, and betrothed to Prince Louis of Hesse; Prince Alfred (afterwards Duke of Edinburgh, and eventually Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha) was 17 and serving in the Royal Navy; but the rest were children—Princess Helena (afterwards Princess Christian) 15, Princess Louise (Duchess of Argyll) 13, Prince Arthur (Duke of Connaught) 11, Prince Leopold (afterwards Duke of Albany) 8, and Princess Beatrice, the "baby," 4.

In taking up her heavy task, the Queen could look for advice or assistance to hardly any of those upon whom she, and her husband, had been wont to rely in the past. Lord Melbourne, her devoted constitutional mentor, was dead; dead also were those tried political friends Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Aberdeen. Indeed, of the elder statesmen who were prominent at the time of her accession, only three still survived in 1862—Lord Palmerston, who was Prime Minister, Lord Russell, Foreign Minister, and Lord Derby, Leader of the Conservative Opposition; and, highly as she respected the abilities and experience of all three, on none of them had she ever felt able to rely with the confidence which Lord Melbourne and (after she came to know him) Sir Robert Peel had inspired. The political wisdom of Baron Stockmar, which the Queen and Prince had found so valuable, was no

longer readily available, as he had quitted the English Court, and had settled down, an old man, at Coburg for the short remainder of his life. In fact, only one faithful guardian and counsellor of old days still remained to her, her maternal uncle and almost father, King Leopold I of the Belgians; and the quotations given from the correspondence of 1862–1865 show how constantly the Queen turned to him after her loss for consolation, encouragement, and advice. But he was ageing fast, and was much crippled by illness and pain during the four years of life still left to him.

Nevertheless, bereft though she was of her right hand in administration and no longer provided with the skilled advice on which she had relied in former days, the stout heart of the Queen did not quail. She was fortified by the varied experience of more than twenty-four years of government, during which she had never ceased to learn, and to grow in political stature; and she found, in the capable Household which she and the Prince had gathered round them, servants who were well equipped for aiding her in the transaction of public business. Two of them, Sir Charles Phipps and General Grey, especially stood out, not merely as true friends of long standing, but also as men who had had training in affairs of state, and were thus qualified to deal on her Majesty's behalf with statesmen. Colonel the Hon. Sir Charles Phipps had in the thirties served on the staff of his brother Lord Normanby, both when that Whig statesman was Governor of Jamaica and when he was Viceroy of Ireland; he had joined the Household in 1846, and since 1849 had occupied the responsible post of Keeper of H.M. Privy Purse. General the Hon. Charles Grey had had still higher experience.

He had acted as private secretary to his father, Lord Grey of the Reform Bill, when Prime Minister, and had sat for some years in Parliament; he had been one of the Queen's equerries almost from her accession, and had served the Prince Consort as Private Secretary since 1849. During 1862 he began to act as Private Secretary to the Queen, a position which he filled, with great advantage to his Sovereign and the State, till his death in 1870, though, owing to the absence of precedent, it was only in 1867 that the appointment was officially made and gazetted. At the Prince Consort's death the Household contained two other soldiers, fit to succeed in due course to these places of trust: Colonel (afterwards General Sir Thomas) Biddulph, Master of the Household since 1851, who became Keeper of the Privy Purse on Sir Charles Phipps's death in 1866; and among the Prince Consort's equerries, Colonel (afterwards General Sir Henry) Ponsonby, a cadet of the Bessborough family, who had been aide-de-camp to two Viceroys of Ireland and had served with credit in the Crimean War, and who was chosen by the Queen in 1870 to be General Grey's successor as Private Secretary. In her Majesty's private life her chief comfort and support, outside her growing family and her Uncle Leopold, was her half-sister, Feodore Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenburg; and among the ladies of her Household, Lady Augusta Bruce (who before long married Dr. A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster), Jane Lady Churchill, and Jane Marchioness of Ely.

How overwhelming was the blow inflicted on the Queen by the Prince Consort's death, and how poignant and enduring was her sorrow, the documents here printed show. They show also that, in resuming her labours, it was her resolve to be guided

throughout by his ideas, to carry through his projects, to administer government in his spirit. Nothing was to be changed, save that the work which he and she had done together was now to be done by her alone. One great change, however, she did make. Hitherto, Buckingham Palace had been her Majesty's and the Prince's usual residence during the time that Parliament was sitting and the London season in progress. In her bereaved and desolate state, with her nerves on edge, and a gigantic mass of work to be got through somehow day by day, she could not face either the painful memories of her once happy London home or the noise and bustle of her capital. She clung rather to her two private residences, bought and built by her husband's advice and with her own money, one by the sea at Osborne in the Isle of Wight, the other, remote from cities and men, among the Scottish mountains at Balmoral; and she determined to live as much as possible in these quiet retreats. But, careful as ever of the public interest, she arranged to come for business at the busiest periods of the year to Windsor, hallowed to her by her husband's tomb, and, while easily accessible from London, neither in it nor of it. From Windsor she made excursions to London when necessary for public or State functions; but she generally returned to Windsor the same night, and hardly ever stayed at Buckingham Palace for more than a few days at a time. Her physicians, alarmed by the strain involved in her unceasing work, declared that without regular withdrawals to Osborne and Balmoral she could not possibly retain sufficient health and strength to carry on her constitutional duties.

Accordingly the Queen divided her year into three approximately equal parts, spending on the

average four months apiece at Windsor, Osborne, and Balmoral. Christmas it was her habit to keep at Osborne, arriving there in the middle of December and leaving for Windsor two months later in the middle of February. During the next six weeks or couple of months she would reside at Windsor, so as to be at hand for conferences with her Ministers at this busy political season. About Easter she would return to Osborne for some three weeks to enjoy in the country the freshness of the early spring. Then, after a fortnight or three weeks at Windsor, she would escape for three weeks or a month, in late May or early June, to her Highland castle—an excursion which was especially enjoined upon her by her physicians for her health, but which was sometimes found to conflict with political necessities. After this, her Majesty would stay another three weeks or a month at Windsor, in those June and July days when the business of the Session was wont to prove critical, and when harassed Ministers tended to resort to their Sovereign for support or advice; getting away as early as possible in July to spend the hottest days of the year by the sea at Osborne. During the autumn holiday season, from the middle or end of August till well on into November, she resided at Balmoral; coming up just in time to be at Windsor during the autumn Cabinets of Ministers, and remaining there till after the anniversary of her husband's death on the 14th December. This programme was only varied by occasional foreign tours—in the earlier years usually to Germany for a few weeks in August and September; in later years to the Italian Lakes, Aix-les-Bains, or the French Riviera in place of the Easter visit to Osborne.

Wherever she might be, the Queen was always

at work. Nothing will strike the reader of these pages more than the diligent care with which her Majesty applied herself without remission, day after day, to her duties as a Constitutional Monarch. With her Prime Minister for the time being she was in constant correspondence on the general course of politics, and she gave him frequent audiences; with her Foreign Minister she maintained, as a rule, a still more frequent interchange of letters and ideas, as she paid the closest attention to Foreign Affairs, in which her wide knowledge and acquaintance made her almost an expert, and regularly read the despatches received from, and supervised the more important despatches sent to, her Ambassadors and other representatives abroad. Moreover, she kept in constant touch with the administration of the fighting forces of the Crown, especially the Army, holding and impressing on successive Secretaries of State decided views on proposed military reforms. The interests of her far-flung Empire, of India, of the Colonies which were gradually evolving into Dominions, were ever in her thoughts. Besides encouraging Viceroys and Governors-General to correspond directly with herself, she insisted upon being regularly consulted on important points by the India and Colonial Offices. So again with Ireland, which caused her increasing anxiety as the years passed on. As a result of this vigilant and assiduous attention to public business, she exercised throughout her reign a very real influence on the course of affairs at home and abroad, especially at times of crisis, and mainly as a peacemaker. In all questions of honours and appointments, it will be seen that she took especial care to secure, as far as possible, that the right men should be selected. She never allowed Ministerial recommendations to pass

without close scrutiny, but frequently raised objections which were sustained as valid; in several instances, indeed, she initiated and carried through selections in which at first her Ministers were very reluctant to concur. Especially was this the case in ecclesiastical appointments, where she rightly considered herself to be better informed than the generality of her Prime Ministers, Mr. Gladstone, of course, being a conspicuous exception. Throughout, the Queen laboured for the improvement of the lot of her poorer subjects; and their joys and griefs met with her instant response and sympathy. To all this public burden must be added the governance and education of her young and numerous family, the arrangements for the careers of her sons and for the marriage and establishment of both sons and daughters, the gradual introduction of her heir into public life, the cares and anxieties involved in the rapidly increasing numbers, first of grandchildren, and then of great-grandchildren.

What the Queen did was Herculean; but she could not do everything that she and her people would have desired. The abandonment of all regular residence in London was symptomatic of the part imperfectly performed. It was inevitable that for the early period of mourning all State ceremonies, Court functions, and public appearances should be suspended. But during the whole thirty-nine years that remained of the reign the Queen never completely resumed in person this representative side of her office. Only on seven occasions, indeed, in those years did she open Parliament herself. As will be seen from the correspondence now published, it was, as her physicians recognised, these public and ceremonial functions that, beyond all other royal duties,

tried her frayed nerves and impaired health. The Prince and Princess of Wales, and other members of her House, were able to relieve their mother of much of this work. But her seclusion was misconstrued; and there was in the sixties and the early seventies a certain temporary misunderstanding between the Queen and the nation, which, however, was happily dissipated before long by a better general knowledge of the facts of her toilsome and devoted life; and for the last twenty years or more of her reign she held the love and veneration of her people, at home and throughout the Empire, in ever-increasing measure. How entirely deserved this public appreciation was; how absolutely the Queen in her long period of faithful widowhood kept up her old ideals of devotion to duty, simplicity of life, tender domestic affection, and ceaseless labours for and sympathy with her people, amidst all the grandeur and temptations of a position which in her closing years had become the most majestic in the world, may be seen in the papers here submitted to the reader and in any further extracts from the Windsor Archives which may in due time be published under the authority of the King.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The bulk of the papers included in these volumes appear in print for the first time. But the Royal correspondence for the period has already been drawn upon to some extent in the *Lives* of such public men as Lord Clarendon, Lord Granville, Archbishop Tait, and Mr. Gathorne Hardy (Lord Cranbrook), and in Sir Sidney Lee's *King Edward VII, A Biography*, vol. i. An especially heavy draft has been made upon it, by the gracious permission of King Edward and of his present Majesty, in Lord Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, and, still more, in Messrs. Monypenny and Buckle's *Life of Disraeli*. Such, however, is the wealth of material in the Windsor Archives that no difficulty has been found in illustrating, it is hoped adequately, Queen Victoria's relations with these statesmen without reprinting, save to a slight extent, documents which have been already published.

The Editor desires to express his cordial thanks to those who have aided him in his anxious task; and, in particular, to Lord Stamfordham, formerly Queen Victoria's Private Secretary and now the King's, for constant encouragement and assistance, and for detailed criticism of selected materials throughout; to the Rev. Albert Lee, the courteous and helpful Recorder of the Royal Archives, and to Miss Bertha Williams, his principal assistant, who readily placed their expert knowledge of the treasures in the Round Tower at the Editor's disposal; to Mr. Lionel Cust, Keeper of the King's Pictures, for counsel and help with the Illustrations; to Lord Esher and the late Dr. Benson, for valuable advice based on their experience in editing the First Series; and to Mr. John Murray, the publisher, who has closely read and criticised the whole of the proofs.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

1862 . . . . . pp. 1–54

A sorrowful New Year—Council at Osborne—Queen's desire for perfect quiet—Postponement of Ministers' audiences—Release of Messrs. Slidell and Mason—Queen's satisfaction—Result attributed to Prince Consort's action—Prince of Wales's journey to Near East—Queen on Foreign Office draft despatches—King Leopold on Prince Consort—And on Lord Palmerston—Hartley Colliery accident—Queen's talk with Lord Palmerston—Schleswig-Holstein Question—Debate on Address—Visits of Ministers to Osborne—Queen on her loss—Requires information on foreign affairs—Debate on American Civil War—King Leopold's readiness to help his niece—Provision for Royal Family—Second international Exhibition—Queen and Lord Russell's policy—Lord Palmerston's feeling for Queen—Queen sees Tennyson—Queen's Regulations for the Navy—Bismarck and Prussian policy—Bringing up of Royal Princes—Affairs in Greece—Signature of Army Commissions—Queen and her papers—Return of Prince of Wales—A year of mourning—Death of Lord Canning—Spithead Forts and iron-plated ships—Death of General Bruce—Marriage of Princess Alice—General Knollys—Garibaldi's expedition—Queen meets Princess Alexandra—Engagement of Prince of Wales—Queen meets King of Prussia at Coburg—Princess Alexandra at Osborne—Complaints of Lord Russell's drafts—Europe and American War—Greek throne—Queen vetoes selection of Prince Alfred—Retaliation in Japan—Protectorate of Ionian Islands—First anniversary of Prince Consort's death—Removal of remains to Mausoleum at Frogmore.

CHAPTER II

1863 . . . . . pp. 55–134

Duke of Coburg and Greek throne—Queen's interest—Her ill-health—Coburg candidature given up—Prince of

Wales and House of Lords—Precedence of Ambassadors—Polish Rebellion—Queen's anxiety to prevent war—Cabinet peaceful—Mr. Disraeli invited to Royal wedding—Arrival of Princess Alexandra in England—Her marriage to Prince of Wales—Queen and Crown livings—Queen and public addresses—Lord Palmerston and Prince of Wales's Household—State of Prussia—Lord Russell's draft about Poland—Vote for memorial to Prince Consort—Visit to Netley Hospital—Queen's anxiety about future of Princess Helena—Crown Prince of Prussia and King William—Exhibition buildings at South Kensington—Views of Queen, Lord Derby, and Lord Palmerston—Vote for site carried—Queen's ill-health—Crown Princess's troubles—Emperor Napoleon and Poland—Vote for purchasing Exhibition buildings defeated—Death of Stockmar—Maori chiefs at Osborne—Foreign affairs and Queen's sanction—Congress of German Princes at Frankfort—Queen at Coburg—Visited by King of Prussia—And by Emperor of Austria—Archduke Maximilian and Mexico—Reopening of Schleswig-Holstein Question—Emperor Napoleon proposes European Congress—Lady Augusta Bruce to marry Dean Stanley—Death of King Frederick VII of Denmark—Queen's anxiety about policy—Refusal of French Congress proposal—Duke of Augustenburg and Holstein—Queen impresses her views on Ministers—King Leopold's opinion—Illness and death of Lord Elgin—Sir John Lawrence appointed Viceroy—Lord Palmerston's Danish policy—Queen advocates compromise—Her health and State ceremonials.

CHAPTER III

1864 . . . . . pp. 135–245

Queen on Schleswig-Holstein policy—Lord Palmerston's reply—Lord Granville's view—Queen's remonstrance with Duke of Coburg—Lord Russell on assisting Denmark—Palmerston's defence of Lord Russell—Queen's reply—Cabinet against Lord Russell—Birth of Prince Albert Victor—Names, sponsors, and christening—Prince of Wales on his title when King—Lord Derby at Osborne—King Leopold on Schleswig-Holstein—Queen and her responsibility—Cabinet accepts Queen's criticism—Channel Squadron ordered home—Violent language in Parliament—Lord Palmerston on

situation—Queen and Cabinet—Dissatisfaction with Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell—Power of prayer—Garibaldi in England—Queen on his reception—English press attacks on Prussia—Mr. Lowe's resignation—International Conference in London—Fall of Düppel—The Queen and Lord Granville on Garibaldi—Difference with Lord Palmerston about ecclesiastical patronage—King of Prussia on armistice—Lord Palmerston and Count Apponyi—Lord Russell and Cabinet—Lord Palmerston and Queen—Treatment of Crown Princess in Prussia—Mr. Gladstone on Reform—Prince of Wales and Prussia—Lord Russell's proposed settlement—Prince of Wales at Literary Fund banquet—Prince and Denmark—Lord Ellenborough criticises Queen in Lords—Lord Russell's defence—Queen's thanks—Correspondence with Lord Derby about Lord Ellenborough—Appeal by Queen to King of Prussia—Crown Princess on British Ambassador in Berlin—Queen agrees—Misrepresentations of Queen's opinions—Prince of Wales and foreign despatches—Queen's German sympathies—King of Prussia defends his policy—General Grey and indiscretions—Queen, Lord Russell, and the Cabinet—King Leopold on crisis—Mr. Gladstone at Windsor—Crucial sitting of London Conference—Its close—Queen advises abstention from further action—Cabinet accepts—Satisfaction of the Queen—Congratulations—Lord Clarendon at Windsor—Prince of Wales at Aldershot—Ecclesiastical appointments—Vote on Danish question in Parliament—Armistice and Peace—Queen and Sir John Lawrence—Change of Ambassador at Berlin—End of transportation to Australia—Mr. Gladstone and armaments—Queen and State ceremonies.

CHAPTER IV

1865 . . . . . pp. 246–289

Defence of Canada—English prisoners in Abyssinia—The Dominions and English Princes—Fenian conspiracies—Prince of Wales and Dublin Exhibition—Controversies with United States—John Brown—Debate on Ireland—Proposed Peerage for Sir Alexander Cockburn—Queen's objection, eventually withdrawn—Resignation of Lord Chancellor Westbury—Debate on defence of Canada—Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein—King Leopold ill—Murder of President Lincoln—Lord Russell's advice—Mr. Goldwin Smith's anxiety—Queen's letter to Mrs. Lincoln—Reply—Birth of

King George V—Names suggested—Queen and the Prussians —Meets Prince Christian at Coburg—Endeavours to avoid meeting King of Prussia—Unveils Coburg statue of Prince Consort—Sees King of Prussia—Meetings of French and English Navies at Cherbourg—Convention of Gastein—Death of Lord Palmerston—Lord Russell Prime Minister—Lord Russell's audience—Cabinet almost unaltered—Betrothal of Princess Helena—Governor Eyre and Jamaica Insurrection—Serious illness of King Leopold—Death—Accession of King Leopold II—Queen consents to open Parliament—Governor Eyre.

CHAPTER V

1866 . . . . . pp. 290–381

Peerage offered to Lady Palmerston—And declined—Mr. Goschen and Cabinet—Queen and public ceremonials—Sir Charles Wood resigns—Queen opens Parliament—Queen and Mr. Peabody—Ministers and Queen's movements—Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A.—Death of Sir Charles Phipps—Changes in the Household—Question of Private Secretary—Lord Russell's Reform Bill—Bismarck and English mediation —Queen urges postponement of Bill—Austro-Prussian recriminations—Prospects of war—Queen's letter to Mr. Peabody—Queen and Lord Clarendon—Queen and Prussian policy—Britain cannot interfere—Negotiations between Italy and Prussia—Queen's personal appeal to King William—Prince Teck—Prince Christian—Prusso-Italian Treaty—Second Reading of Reform Bill—Queen anxious for settlement—Queen on Austro-Prussian crisis—Crown Prince's command—Queen's visit to Cliveden—Appeal to Lord Derby on crisis—Urges Ministers to avert imminent dangers —Visit to Balmoral—Austro-Prussian War begun—Government defeat on Lord Dunkellin's amendment—Ministers resign—Queen urges reconsideration—Returns to Windsor —Audiences of Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone—Final resignation—Lord Derby commissioned—Queen's anxiety about Court appointments—Lord Clarendon and Foreign Office—War Office—Lord Russell and creation of Peers—Adullamites and Lord Derby—Lord Stanley and Foreign Office—Appeal from King of Saxony—Duke of Cambridge and Hanover—Prince Ernest Leiningen defends Prussia—Experiences of Princess Alice—Riots in Hyde Park—Queen's

reply to King of Saxony—Question of Hanover—France and Prussia—Crown Princess on situation—Queen at Highland gathering—Bismarck and independence of Belgium—Visit of the Prince of Wales to St. Petersburg—The Tsar and the Garter—Diplomatic missions in Saxony—Reform, Queen, and Cabinet—Mr. Theodore Martin—Letter from the Tsar—Fenian prisoners in Canada—Archbishop Longley and Church of Scotland—Mr. Disraeli at Windsor—Queen at Wolverhampton—Archbishop's explanation.

CHAPTER VI

1867 . . . . . pp. 382–484

France, Germany, and Belgium—Ministers' Reform plans—Queen opens Parliament—Canadian confederation—Government and House of Commons—Long talk with Mr. Disraeli about Reform—Ministerial crisis—Ten Minutes Bill—Queen anxious for settlement—Advises adoption of bold course—Carlton Club meeting—Resignation of Lord Cranborne, Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel—Illness of Princess of Wales—Explanation of Reform Bill by Mr. Disraeli—Introduction of Bill—Lord Granville on Liberal attitude—Liberal manœuvres—Second reading carried—Tea-room revolt—King of Denmark—Luxemburg affair—Lord Derby's gout—England and independence of Belgium—Queen appeals to King William about Luxemburg—Question of Queen's Private Secretary—Appointment gazetted—Queen and guarantee of Luxemburg—Compound householder—Mr. Disraeli's pre-eminence in Ministry—Distinctions for the Royal Family—Visit of Sultan announced—Question of Garter for Tsar of Russia—Garter awarded to Empress both of Russia and of Austria—Naval review arranged for Sultan—Attacks on Reform Bill in Committee—Birth of Queen Mary—Queen's visit to Duchess of Teck and baby—Prince Alfred's position as naval officer—John Brown and State ceremonials—House of Lords and Reform Bill—King William on Prussian policy—Emperor Maximilian shot—Arrangements for receiving Sultan—Queen's health—Queen of Prussia—Sultan's arrival—Reform Bill read third time—Queen gives Sultan Garter at Naval Review—Queen and Lord Stanley on foreign policy—Queen and public opinion—Empress Eugénie at Osborne—Queen and Mr. Disraeli on foreign policy—Franco-Prussian relations—Policy of retaliation in the East—Letter

to Empress Eugénie—Diplomatic relations with Saxony—Mr. Morier—Fenian threats against Queen—Queen and sentences on Manchester Fenians—Vote for Abyssinian Expedition—Bishop Selwyn—Queen and Foreign Office despatches—Sympathy with victims of Clerkenwell explosion—Anxiety about Fenians at Osborne—Precautions—Question of suspension of *Habeas Corpus* Act—Fenian stories from Canada—Queen does not share apprehensions.

CHAPTER VII

1868 . . . . . pp. 485–571

Canadian Fenian stories an invention—Princess Christian and Prince Arthur at Knowsley—Lord Clarendon's "amateur" diplomacy—Publication of *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands*—Lord Derby ill—Parliamentary programme—Prospects of Government—Duke of Richmond and Mr. Disraeli—Lord Derby resigns—Mr. Disraeli Prime Minister—Uncertainty about date of Lord Derby's resignation—Lord Derby and Peerages—Lord Cairns and Mr. Ward Hunt—Lord Chelmsford's retirement—Irish policy—Mr. Disraeli and the House—Queen, Prince of Wales, and Ireland—Mr. Gladstone adopts Irish Disestablishment—Queen advises moderation—Charles Kingsley—Debate on Mr. Gladstone's policy—Mr. Disraeli and vacant canonry—Queen's objection to new policy—Prince of Wales on Irish visit—Mr. Disraeli's policy of dissolution—Reception in House of Commons—Liberal attacks—Queen's efforts and public feeling—Sir Robert Napier and Abyssinian expedition—Colonial Office despatches—Cruelty to animals—Deanery of Ripon—Episcopal appointments—Mr. Reverdy Johnson—Mr. Disraeli at Balmoral—Smoking-room at Balmoral—Spanish throne—A canonry for Mr. Prothero—Queen and her grandsons—Death of Archbishop of Canterbury—Dr. Tait and Dr. Ellicott—Mr. Disraeli's objection to Dr. Tait—Honours and elections—Alabama Convention—Mr. Disraeli and ecclesiastical appointments—Queen and Lord Clarendon—Peerage for Mrs. Disraeli—Resignation of Cabinet—Mr. Gladstone Prime Minister—General Grey's visit to Hawarden—Audience at Windsor—Lord Clarendon and the Foreign Office—Lord Russell and the Cabinet—Turco-Greek Question—The Irish Church policy—Prince of Wales and Greece—Death of Sir Richard Mayne.

CHAPTER VIII

1869 . . . . . pp. 572–637

Profits from *Leaves, etc.*—Queen and Ireland—Sketch of Irish Church Bill—Queen's criticism—Mr. Gladstone's explanations—Queen and Dr. Magee—Early years of Queen's reign—Queen and Mr. Cardwell on Army changes—Tea-party at Westminster Deanery—Second Reading of Bill—Mr. Reverdy Johnson and Alabama Convention—England's obligations to Portugal—Lord Clarendon's views—Queen's dissatisfaction—Mayor of Cork's public approval of Fenian crimes—Cabinet proposals—Queen and her grandsons—Mastership of the Temple—Mayor of Cork resigns—Proposed visit of Viceroy of Egypt—Queen's protest to Ministers—Mr. Gladstone on such visits—The Bill in the Lords—Queen's appeal to Lord Derby—And to Archbishop Tait—State of France—Lord Derby on the Bill—Lord Granville describes debate on Second Reading—Queen on her Accession day—Beards in the Navy—Mr. Gladstone urges postponement of visit to Osborne—Queen reluctantly consents—Anxious for settlement—Mr. Gladstone on possible concessions—Crisis acute—Settlement by Lord Cairns and Lord Granville—Mr. Ayrton—Lord Clarendon on Prussia—And on Emperor Napoleon—Episcopal appointments—Queen on clemency to Fenian prisoners—Dr. Temple and Bishopric of Exeter—Queen opens Blackfriars Bridge and Holborn Viaduct—Queen on marriage of Princesses to Englishmen—Request for fuller political information—Dr. Temple's consecration—Duke of Edinburgh in India.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL. I

H.M. Queen Victoria, 1864. *From a picture by A. Graefle* . . . . . *Frontispiece*

H.R.H. The Princess of Wales at the Time of her Marriage. *From a picture by Lauchert* . . *Facing p.* 44

Marriage of Albert Edward Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra of Denmark. *From a picture by W. P. Frith, R.A.* . . . . „ 74

H.M. Leopold I, King of the Belgians. *From a miniature at Windsor* . . . . . „ 156

Statue of the Queen and the Prince Consort. *By William Theed, R.A., at Windsor* . . „ 274

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, 1863. *From a picture by Henry Weigall, engraved by Henry Graves* . „ 368

H.M. Queen Victoria, 1868 (with John Brown) . „ 450

The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone in 1867. *From a drawing by George Richmond, R.A., at Hawarden Castle* . . . . . „ 560

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER I

The year 1862 opened under the shadow of the great bereavement which the Queen and the nation had suffered in the death of the Prince Consort on 14th December 1861. The Court was plunged in seclusion; but the Queen, though "broken-hearted and desolate," almost immediately resumed her close attention to public affairs, even holding a Council on 6th January.

The Queen's attention was especially claimed this year by several events of much interest and importance in her own family. The Prince of Wales, in pursuance of the plans laid down by the Prince Consort for his education, made a tour between February and June through Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, with Dr. A. P. Stanley, afterwards Dean of Westminster, as his guide to the sacred and historic associations of the places visited. In the autumn his Royal Highness was betrothed to Princess Alexandra, daughter of Prince Christian, the heir to the throne of Denmark. The Queen made the Princess's acquaintance at Laeken in September on her way to Gotha; and the Princess visited the Queen at Osborne in November. On 1st July her Majesty's second daughter, Princess Alice, was married at Osborne to Prince Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt, nephew and heir of the Grand Duke. Finally, a revolution in Greece having deposed King Otho, Prince Alfred, Queen Victoria's second son, was elected in December by universal suffrage, with enthusiasm and almost with unanimity, to the Greek throne. But, inasmuch as, apart from other considerations, Great Britain was a party in 1832 to a convention under which no member of the British, French, or Russian royal families was eligible for that throne, the British Government refused its sanction to the arrangement.

The tension between the United States and Great Britain was relieved at the beginning of January by the release of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, the Confederate Commissioners who had been seized, when on board the British mail steamer

Trent, by the captain of a Federal vessel. The issue of the fighting in the American Civil War during the year was indeterminate, but on the whole favourable to the Confederates. Much attention was directed to a naval engagement on 8th March, in which the Confederate ironclad ship *Virginia* (originally the Federal *Merrimac*, seized by the Confederates and renamed) attacked the Federal wooden squadron at Hampton Roads under the guns of the shore batteries, sunk one ship, burnt another, drove a third ashore, and was only prevented by shoal water from reaching and destroying the rest of the squadron. Next day she fought an inconclusive action with the Federal ironclad *Monitor*. In September President Lincoln issued a proclamation, announcing his intention to recommend Congress to abolish slavery in States in rebellion against the United States, and in his message to Congress on 1st December he definitely adopted the policy of emancipation.

The Civil War had repercussions in Europe. At the end of July, while the British Government were still considering whether to prevent her sailing, a vessel which had been built at Birkenhead stole out of the Mersey, transformed herself on the high seas into a ship of war, and proceeded, as the Confederate cruiser *Alabama*, to prey upon Federal commerce. The shortage of cotton, due to the blockade of the Confederate ports, produced great and increasing distress in Lancashire; to meet which Parliament extended the powers given to guardians by the Poor Laws. The general belief in England and Europe was that it would be impossible for the Federal Government to subdue the rebel States; and in August Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, pronounced, in the course of a political tour on the Tyne, that Mr. Jefferson Davis, the Confederate President, had made a nation. On 30th October the French Emperor proposed to England and Russia a policy of joint mediation in America; but Lord Russell, on behalf of the British Government, declined, on the ground that there was no reason to suppose that the Federal Government would accept the proposal. The British Government, earlier in the year, had, along with the Spanish Government, withdrawn from the armed expedition to Mexico, which the French Emperor had promoted. The French troops accordingly advanced alone, but met with a check, after severe fighting, before Puebla, and had to retire and await reinforcements.

In France, M. Thouvenel was succeeded in October by M. Drouyn de Lhuys as Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Emperor Napoleon, while maintaining French troops in Rome, made unsuccessful endeavours to effect a reconciliation between the Pope, whose temporal dominion was now practically confined to Rome, and the Italian Government, who now controlled the whole of the peninsula, except Rome and Venetia. In defiance of King Victor Emmanuel and his Government, Garibaldi raised in July a band of Volunteers in Sicily with a view to marching on Rome and planting the flag of Italy on its walls. He crossed to the mainland in August, but was defeated and captured at Aspromonte on 29th August. In October he and his followers were amnestied.

In Prussia a constitutional struggle was in progress throughout the year. The Lower Chamber of the Diet refused to vote the sums demanded in the Budget for the formidable army which was being organised by General von Roon, the War Minister. A dissolution in the spring produced a still more refractory Chamber; and King William in the latter part of September called Herr von Bismarck to his counsels, as President and Minister of State. The new Minister promptly closed the Chambers, early in October, and proceeded to levy the taxes without any parliamentary sanction. The King protested that he wished to preserve the Constitution intact, but declared that he was also resolved to maintain intact the rights of the Crown.

A prominent feature of the year was the second International Exhibition held in London; it was opened in May by the Duke of Cambridge. Lord Palmerston's second Administration, which had entered on office in the summer of 1859 with only a very narrow Parliamentary majority, still maintained its position throughout 1862 without serious difficulty.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES
Hither Green BRANCH

CHAPTER I

1862

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 1*st Jan.* 1862.—Have been unable to write my Journal since the day my beloved one left us, and with what a heavy broken heart I enter on a new year without him! My dreadful and overwhelming calamity gives me so much to do, that I must henceforth merely keep notes of my sad and solitary life. This day last year found us so perfectly happy, and now! Last year music woke us; little gifts, new year's wishes, brought in by maid, and then given to dearest Albert, the children waiting with their gifts in the next room—all these recollections were pouring in on my mind in an overpowering manner. Alice slept in my room, and dear baby[1] came down early. Felt as if living in a dreadful dream. Dear Alice much affected when she got up and kissed me. Arthur gave me a nosegay, and the girls, drawings done by them for their dear father and me. Could hardly touch my breakfast.

When dressed saw Dr. Jenner,[2] Mr. Ruland,[3] and Augusta Bruce.[4] Went down to see the sketch for a statue of my beloved Albert in Highland dress,

[1] Princess Beatrice.

[2] Afterwards Sir William Jenner, and Physician-in-Ordinary to the Queen.

[3] Librarian at Windsor.

[4] Daughter of 7th Earl of Elgin; Resident Bedchamber Woman to the Queen; afterwards Lady Augusta Stanley.

which promises to be good. Then out with Lenchen,[1] Toward[2] always following and pointing out trees and everything. When I came in, saw the Duke of Newcastle in dear Albert's room, where *all* remains the same. Talking for long of him, of his great goodness, and purity, quite unlike anyone else. Saw Sir J. Clark,[3] Sir C. Phipps,[4] and then dear, kind Uncle Leopold.[5]

Dined with dear Marie[6] and went over to Feodore's[7] room. Dear Uncle came upstairs to see me for a short while, also Bertie.[8] Alice gave me my beloved Albert's Christmas present, so precious, and so sad.

Lord Palmerston's Ministry at the beginning of 1862.

First Lord of the Treasury	Viscount Palmerston.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Westbury.
Lord President of the Council	Earl Granville.
Lord Privy Seal	Duke of Argyll.
Home Secretary	Sir George Grey.
Foreign Secretary	Earl Russell.
Colonial Secretary	Duke of Newcastle.
War Secretary	Sir George Cornewall Lewis.
Indian Secretary	Sir Charles Wood.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	William Ewart Gladstone.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Duke of Somerset.
President of the Board of Trade	Thomas Milner Gibson.
Postmaster-General	Lord Stanley of Alderley.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Edward Cardwell.
Chief Commissioner of the Poor Law Board	Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers.

Sir George Grey to Sir Charles Phipps.

Private. Home Office, 3*rd January* 1862.

My dear Sir Charles,—I have written to the Earl Marshal to fix the 10th February for the ter-

[1] Princess Helena, afterwards Princess Christian.
[2] The Land Steward at Osborne, who greatly assisted the Prince Consort in laying out the grounds.
[3] Physician-in-Ordinary to the Queen.
[4] Keeper of H.M. Privy Purse. See Preface.
[5] The King of the Belgians.
[6] Princess Ernest Leiningen, wife of the Queen's half-nephew.
[7] Queen Victoria's half-sister, Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenburg.
[8] The Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII.

mination of the general mourning. I am sure it will only be in full accordance with the universal feeling that it should be longer than an ordinary occasion. This date will, moreover, carry it over the meeting of Parliament.

I am very sorry for the necessity of a Council, but I trust it may be so arranged as to cause the least possible pain to her Majesty. The necessity for it is beyond doubt. . . . Yours very truly, G. GREY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, *6th Jan.* 1862.—Held a Council, which was well and kindly arranged. Lord Granville and others,[1] with Mr. Helps,[2] were in dear Albert's room, and I in mine, with the door open. The business was all summed up in two paragraphs, and Mr. Helps read "approved" for me. This was unlike anything which had been done before. The Council after dear Mama died took place in the Red Room, and dearest Albert handed me the papers and was with me. But now!

Saw Lord Granville for some time, who was much affected and could hardly speak. We talked of my beloved one; of the terrible fatal illness; of the Memorials, which will be numberless. One is to be raised by both Houses of Parliament, and the great National one. Dear Feodore dined with me and Uncle came up afterwards.

Sir Charles Phipps to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Copy.*]
Private.

OSBORNE, *9th January* 1862.

MY DEAR LORD PALMERSTON,—The Queen has, I think, quite determined now to remain here until the middle of February; the quiet of this place is

[1] The Duke of Newcastle and Sir George Grey, both Secretaries of State, were the other two Privy Councillors present at this the first Council after the Prince Consort's death.

[2] Clerk of the Council, afterwards Sir Arthur Helps, author of *Friends in Council* and other works.

soothing to her, and the associations connected with it in harmony with the constant bent of her mind. She requires perfect quiet, and, for her health, as much air and exercise as she can be induced to take.

Had she been nearer to London, or had you not been suffering so severely from gout, her Majesty would probably, before this time, have sought an opportunity of seeing you; but it has been impossible, and her Majesty must now postpone it to some later time.

The Queen has made great exertions; amongst the most trying has been that of seeing those who must remind her of times never again to return; and now she longs for perfect quiet, and is sure that you will understand the feelings which incline her, both for your sake and for her own, to postpone for the present asking to see you. Believe me, faithfully yours, C. B. PHIPPS.[1]

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, *9th Jan.* 1862.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to state that the Cabinet, at its meeting this afternoon, had read to it Mr. Seward's[2] long note announcing the determination of the Federal Government to release Messrs. Slidell and Mason; and the Cabinet considered what answer it would be proper to give.[3] There are in that long answer many doctrines of international law laid down, which your Majesty's Government could not agree to, and it was thought best to refer those parts of the note to your Majesty's Law Officers for their suggestions as to the answer to be given. But in the meantime Lord Russell will prepare a despatch to Lord Lyons,[4]

[1] Sir Charles Phipps wrote a similar letter, on the Queen's behalf, to Lord Russell.

[2] American Secretary of State.

[3] See First Series, Vol. iii, ch. 30, and Introductory Note to this chapter.

[4] British Minister in Washington.

accepting the release of the prisoners, and the declaration in Mr. Seward's note, that Captain Wilkes acted without any orders or authority, as a full satisfaction of the demands of the British Government; but he will add that there are many doctrines laid down in Mr. Seward's note to which your Majesty's Government cannot assent, but upon which observations will by another occasion be sent. Lord Russell will at the same time express a confident expectation that the persons taken out of the *Eugenia* will be released upon the same principle upon which the release of Messrs. Mason and Slidell has been granted.

Viscount Palmerston would beg to submit to your Majesty that Lord Lyons has conducted the very difficult and important negotiation in which he has been engaged, with great ability and judgment, and that the successful issue to which it has arrived has in a great measure been due to the great discretion which he has shown in its management; and Viscount Palmerston would submit for your Majesty's gracious consideration whether it might not be well that your Majesty should mark your approval of his conduct by promoting him to be a Knight Grand Cross of the Civil Order of the Bath.[1]

[*Copy.*]

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

OSBORNE, 10*th Jan.* 1862.—The Queen being much fatigued with many affairs of a private nature and being so weak and exhausted from her utter misery and desolation, makes use of General Grey's pen.[2]

She cannot but look on this peaceful issue of the American quarrel as much owing to her beloved

[1] This was done.

[2] This is a covering note, enclosing a formal letter approving the course of the Government. In her Journal the Queen wrote: "Gen. Grey a little nervous at my asking him to write to Lord Palmerston in my name, I signing the letter, but Uncle [King Leopold, who was staying at Osborne] and I reassured him." This was apparently the first occasion on which the Queen made use of General Grey as her Private Secretary. See Preface.

Prince, who *wrote* the observations upon the draft to Lord Lyons, which Lord Palmerston so entirely concurred in. It was the last thing he *ever* wrote!

Earl Russell to Sir Charles Phipps.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 10*th January* 1862.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I am very grateful for the Queen's kind consideration for my health. I was, of course, ready to go at any time, but the last few days have been so agitating that I might have been disabled for weeks had I gone to Osborne, and been obliged to return the same day for the Office.

I quite understand that the Queen now wishes to be quiet, and I fervently hope quiet may be of use to her.

General Bruce[1] wrote to me, some time before the Prince's death, about the journey[2] of the Prince of Wales. If the journey is still intended, I hope he will have the goodness to renew his letter in order that I may give notice to our Ministers at the capitals his Royal Highness proposes to visit.

How fortunate the termination of our American despatch! Ever yours truly, RUSSELL.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, 10*th Jan.* 1862.—The things of this world are of no interest to the Queen, beyond the satisfaction she must experience if Peace is maintained, and this country is in prosperity: for *her* thoughts are *fixed above*. She thinks, with satisfaction, that the slight alterations in the draft to Lord Lyons, which the Queen suggested, and which was her precious husband's *last* work (which rendered it more easy for the American Government to comply with our request), have helped in bringing about this

[1] Major-General the Hon. Robert Bruce (1813–1862), son of the 7th Earl of Elgin, and brother of the 8th Earl, the Viceroy of India, had been Governor to the Prince of Wales since 1858.

[2] To Egypt, Palestine, and Syria.

peaceful result, which she knows her dear Angel much wished for.

The Queen leads the most utterly wretched and desolate life that *can* be imagined. Where *all* WAS peaceful sunshine and perfect happiness (which the troubles and worries of her position rendered very necessary) there is *now utter desolation, darkness*, and *loneliness*, and she feels *daily* more and more worn and wretched. The eternal future is her only comfort.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, 14*th Jan.* 1862.—The Queen approves of the drafts to Lord Lyons. She must, however, observe that she should have seen the despatch which he [Lord Russell] read to Mr. Adams,[1] before it was sent to its destination, and Lord Russell will perhaps take care that the *rule* should not be departed from, viz. that no drafts should be sent without the Queen's having first seen them.

Earl Russell to Sir Charles Phipps.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 15*th January* 1862.

MY DEAR CHARLES,— . . . As I do not like troubling the Queen unnecessarily, perhaps you will have the goodness to explain to her Majesty that, as the decision to accept the reparation offered by the United States was approved, I did not like to delay the communication, especially as I must have stopped the packet a day.

My draft was taken by Lord Palmerston to Broadlands, and not returned till Friday night. A bad effect would have been produced in America, had we not shown conciliation at the first moment we could possibly do so. Hesitation would have seemed like unwillingness to be satisfied. But I wish to observe fully the rule that no despatch should be sent off till it has the Queen's approval.

[1] American Minister in London.

I shall certainly have some leisure by being in the House of Lords, which it was impossible to have in the House of Commons.[1] Yours truly, RUSSELL.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE,[2] 16*th January* 1862.

MY BELOVED VICTORIA,—I arrived without accident and found here everything arranged with the greatest ease. I can but too well enter into your feelings, my beloved child, and no argument will answer when it is to take a personal character for your own dear self; *there is but one* CONNECTED *with your* DEAR ANGEL; *to follow up his plans, his wishes*, to give to him, who I trust is not cut off in the spirit from this earth, the *satisfaction* that the good he wished, the plans for every thing good and useful which he had so much at heart, *are followed up* as much as our diminished means permit; that in *that way you will* MORE THAN *ever be* WORTHY OF HIS AFFECTION. When once united, he will tell you how much he was *pleased with your devoted effort.*

There is one notion which I think quite justifiable, that the departed continue to take an interest in what is doing in the plans they left, and that to see what they had wisely planned destroyed or neglected becomes a *source of trouble and pain to them.*

I don't speak merely in a worldly sense, but what a master spirit had in view for the welfare and happiness of millions goes beyond the earthly successes, and connects itself with the great future of the immense creation.

As long as I remain on this strange planet, I

[1] Lord John Russell had been raised to the peerage as Earl Russell in the previous July.

[2] King Leopold had come to Osborne after the death of the Prince Consort to visit and comfort his niece. He went up to London for a few days on 15th January, but was taken ill at Buckingham Palace, and was not able to return to Osborne till 1st February.

shall devote myself, with the faithful affection I have borne you from the first days of your existence, to be of use to you. And it does my heart good to think that, without me, what rendered you so happy so many years might never have been arranged. Our beloved Angel alluded to it often when he wrote to me, and spoke of his *glückliches familien Leben.*

Without fail I shall mention to Granville what you think; I think him well calculated (*sic*).

It might be well to see Clarendon in the course of next week; he can also, *le cas échéant*, be very useful, as it is desirable to have a reserve in case of need. God bless you, my beloved Child, and believe me, ever your devoted Uncle, LEOPOLD R.[1]

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 21*st Jan.* 1862.—The expressions of universal admiration and appreciation of beloved Albert are most striking, and show how he was beloved and how his worth was recognised. Even the poor people in small villages, who don't know me, are shedding tears for me, as if it were their own private sorrow.

Saw General Grey and then Lord Elgin, who goes as Governor-General to India. We talked of India. General Grey was to show him the papers with my beloved Albert's views on India, in which he took so great an interest, as in all that concerned it.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 24*th January* 1862.

MY BELOVED VICTORIA,—I cannot say that I am progressing fast, but still there is not anything for the worse.

[1] While King Leopold's letters to Queen Victoria have been preserved for this year as for other years, the Queen's letters to her Uncle during 1862 are missing.

Locomotion is, however, still very uncertain, and in the interests of your service, which I keep constantly in view, however invalid I may be, I must speak to-day of what concerns you, and chiefly with a view that you should have as little trouble in that way at least as possible. The original plan had been my going to Broadlands on Saturday, and that you would afterwards have seen Lord Palmerston in the course of this week. My illness has deranged all that, and my venturing to Broadlands is quite out of the question.

All your most devoted servants, Granville *à la tête*, are very desirous that you should see Palmerston, that no appearance of coolness should exist, as it would weaken the Cabinet; and it is undoubtedly your own interest for the sake of having no difficulties, as well as that of the country, that Pilgerstein [1] and his people should not be upset. I have this very moment written to Pilgerstein to accept an offer which he has made to run up here and to see me, which may be useful to put things as you wish them to be. If he is able to come, which I do not doubt, it would be very desirable that you should see him at Osborne next week, perhaps quite at the beginning. The Government has but a doubtful majority; to have it upset would be for you and for everybody very unprofitable.

I saw Bertie yesterday at some length, and found him attentive. And now, God bless you ever. Your devoted Uncle, LEOPOLD R.

Sir George Grey to Sir Charles Phipps.

Private. HOME OFFICE, *27th January* 1862.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,— . . . The Queen's expression of sympathy with the poor sufferers in this terrible calamity at Hartley Colliery has been very sensibly felt throughout the district, and most

[1] A Germanised version of "Palmerston"—*Pilger* being German for "palmer."

gratefully appreciated.[1] Her Majesty may perhaps like to know that I have written fully to the Inspector of the District to ensure, as far as possible, the most thorough investigation into the whole case at the inquest which is appointed to be held on Monday next the 3rd, and I shall send down a competent person to attend the inquest, with a view to the suggestion of all practicable measures for preventing the recurrence of such an appalling loss of life. Yours very truly, G. GREY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 29*th Jan.* 1862.—After luncheon saw Lord Palmerston (who has been very ill). It made me very nervous seeing him for the first time since my great misfortune, but I felt it was right not to put it off any longer. He seemed very nervous himself. Spoke of Uncle, whom he had been to see, and of my remaining here for the present. He could in fact hardly speak for emotion. It showed me how much he felt my terrible loss, and he said what a dreadful calamity it was. Then he spoke about Bertie, and the desirability for his travelling, which would be such a good thing for him. I repeated that it had been his Father's wish he should do so; and Lord Palmerston said it was most important he should marry. I observed that he was a very good and dutiful son, but that for him, just at his age, the loss of his Father was terrible, which Lord Palmerston thoroughly understands and feels keenly. Everything was quiet, he thought there would be no trouble, but "*the* difficulty of the moment" was Bertie. I felt the same,

[1] In the Hartley Colliery accident, in the Northumbrian coal-field, on 16th January, 204 lives were lost. Sir Charles Phipps wrote to the head viewer of the colliery, by the Queen's command, that her Majesty, "in the midst of her own overwhelming grief," was greatly afflicted by the appalling news. "Her Majesty commands me to say that her tenderest sympathy is with the poor widows and mothers, and that her own misery only makes her feel the more for them. Her Majesty hopes that everything will be done, as far as possible, to alleviate their distress, and her Majesty will have a sad satisfaction in assisting in such a measure."

and would hardly have given Lord Palmerston credit for entering so entirely into my anxieties. He alluded to Princess Alexandra [1] and thought the political objections must not be minded, as they did not affect *this* country. I did not speak as if there were any certainty, but praised the young lady. With America he hoped matters would go well. He was most anxious to facilitate things for me.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, *3rd Feb.* 1862.—The Queen returns this draft.

Before giving her sanction to it, the Queen would be glad to learn the grounds on which Lord Russell assumes that Prussia "evidently wishes to renew the old connection of Schleswig with Holstein" [2] and that she contemplates a war with Denmark for that object?

The Queen would lament, equally with Lord Russell, the occurrence of such a war. But, as far as she has seen the despatches and letters lately received from Berlin, there seems no reason for assuming such an intention to exist on the part of the Prussian Government.

In a public despatch of the 22nd ult., Lord A. Loftus [3] says, that Count Bernstorff [4] does not take a desponding view of present negotiations, and in a private letter of the 25th he adds that, though he himself despairs of bringing Prussia and Denmark together, he does not apprehend any imminent danger of a rupture.

The Queen therefore asks Lord Russell to consider, whether, in the absence of any evidence that such an intention exists on the part of Prussia, to argue on the assumption that she meditates war is not more

[1] Of Denmark, who became Princess of Wales, and is now Queen Alexandra.

[2] For the Schleswig-Holstein question, see Introductory Note to Ch. 2.

[3] British Minister in Berlin.

[4] Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

likely to irritate her, than to induce her to pursue the moderate course which it is the object of the Queen's Government to press upon her.

The Queen has marked the passages which she considers might have an irritating effect, and wishes only further to remark, that she would be sorry if anything should ever be said to mar the effect which the very able despatch of Lord Russell to Mr. Jerningham,[1] and the clear *résumé* which it contains of the present state of the question, might be expected to produce.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

CHESHAM PLACE, *4th Feb.* 1862.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he was struck with the remark of Count Bernstorff that it signified little whether they had to employ *Mitraille* at home, or have war abroad. He thought it advisable to show Count Bernstorff that war in Europe was not without its dangers.

However, he now proposes, in deference to your Majesty, to omit everything which might be construed as a threat, and to confine himself to pure reasoning. This reasoning, however, he considers indispensable in order to promote a specific solution of these difficulties, and satisfy Parliament that this country has done its best to avert an attack on Denmark which may in the event cost Prussia dear.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, *6th Feb.* 1862.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to state that Mr. Portman moved this afternoon in the House of Commons the address in answer to the Speech of your Majesty's Commissioners, in a speech very well delivered, in very good language, and evincing much talent and judgment. Mr. Wood seconded the address, also in a good speech, but not so effective as that of Mr. Portman.

[1] Minister at Stockholm.

Mr. Disraeli followed, expressing his approval of the manner in which your Majesty's Government conducted the negotiation with the United States, and the energy as well as the moderation with which they acted. He hoped that the neutrality which has hitherto been strictly observed would be continued; and he expressed a hope that no attempt would be made to impose any particular form of government on the Mexican nation. He concurred, in a very eloquent and feeling manner, in the condolence to your Majesty. Viscount Palmerston explained that your Majesty has no intention to depart from the position of strict neutrality with regard to the Civil War in North America; nor does your Majesty intend to interfere by force of arms in the internal affairs of Mexico, however desirable it may be that Mexico should have a stable and respectable government.

Mr. Hadfield approved the conduct of your Majesty's Government. Mr. Maguire dilated upon the distress in some parts of Ireland, and Sir Robert Peel [1] asserted that the allegations of that distress were great exaggerations. Mr. Vincent Scully said a great many things about Ireland which few members listened to, and fewer still understood; and the House adjourned at an early hour.

[*Draft.*] *Sir Charles Phipps to Earl Granville.*

Confidential. OSBORNE, 12*th February* 1862.

MY DEAR GRANVILLE,—The Queen has for some time thought that in her present isolated state—cut off from consultation with her Ministers, as she necessarily must be for some time by her being utterly unable to go to London, and bereaved, as she, alas! is, of the advice and support of the best and wisest of all counsellors—it becomes very important, and indeed almost necessary, that yourself, or one of the Secretaries of State, should, in turn, come down here,

[1] The 3rd Baronet (1822–1895), son of the Prime Minister, and at this time Chief Secretary for Ireland.

once in every week or ten days; either from the Saturday to the Monday, or for the Wednesday.

Even if the Queen were not well enough to see the Minister here, it would be a support to her Majesty to feel that he was at hand, and his presence at the Queen's residence would probably have a good public effect.

I suppose that you will consult Lord Palmerston upon this, but I feel sure that to everyone it will be apparent how desirable some such arrangement at present must be.

Earl Granville to Sir Charles Phipps.

LONDON, 13*th February* 1862.

MY DEAR PHIPPS,—It will not only be a duty but a gratification to us all to be of the slightest assistance to her Majesty. I could only see Lord Palmerston this afternoon. He is anxious to be allowed to take his turn with the other Ministers. He has asked me to request you to submit to the Queen that Wednesday would be the most convenient day. On Saturday it is always necessary to have a Cabinet for the settlement of the Parliamentary business of the next week, and it is embarrassing for the leaders of the two Houses and the five Secretaries to be absent. This, however, is of course subject to her Majesty's wishes. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

[*Copy.*] *Sir Charles Phipps to Viscount Palmerston. Private.*

OSBORNE, 16*th February* 1862.

MY DEAR LORD PALMERSTON,—The Queen did not originally include your name in the list of the Ministers who were to come here, because she thought that it must probably be inconvenient to you to give up one of the nights upon which you were free from the constant attendance at the House of Commons.

The Queen would be very glad, however, if you would select some time when you were disengaged, either to come and pass Wednesday night here or

to remain from Saturday to Monday. To come down here and return in the same day would take nearly eight hours, and this would confine the Queen to a very short interval in which she must see you, for, of course, she could not allow you to take such a journey for nothing; and what she particularly wishes to avoid is any arrangement bearing the appearance of an appointment, which would fix her, whatever might be her engagements, to a specified time.

The Queen has nothing very particular to say on these occasions, but she does not wish to be cut off from all cognisance of what is going on, and her intention, in these periodical visits of the Ministers, is that she should hear, from the one who comes, anything that the Government as a body, or any individual Minister, may wish her to be informed of.

It has been with great satisfaction that I have heard of this intention of the Queen, both because I hope that it shows a tendency to take some interest in the affairs of the country (for, though she has continued to work, it has been as work, and without interest), and also because it is impossible not to feel how very desirable it is that in her present position she should see even more of her Ministers than formerly. Perhaps then you would select for your visit some time when you had an evening disengaged, which would give the Queen a longer period from which to choose the time for an audience, and you would also let it be understood that one night is the shortest time for which the Queen would wish these visits to last.—C. B. P.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.[1]

Osborne, 17*th Feb.* 1862.—The Queen wishes herself to express her thanks to Lord Derby for the copy of his speech, and her satisfaction at his serving on the Committee of the Memorial,[2] so full of interest to her poor broken heart. She hopes to see him some

[1] The 14th Earl, three times Prime Minister; at this time Leader of the Conservative Opposition. [2] To the Prince Consort.

day at Windsor, to which *living grave* she intends to return for a short while next week.

To express *what* the Queen's desolation and utter misery is, is almost impossible; every feeling seems swallowed up in that *one* of unbounded *grief*! She feels as though *her life* had ended on *that* dreadful day when she lost that bright Angel who was her idol, the life of her life; and time seems to have passed like *one long, dark day*!

She sees the trees budding, the days lengthen, the primroses coming out, but *she thinks* herself *still* in the month of December! The Queen toils away from morning till night, goes out twice a day, does all she is desired to do by her physician, but she wastes and pines, and there is that within her *inmost soul*, which seems to be undermining her existence! And *how can* it be otherwise? The happiness and comfort of twenty-two years crushed *for ever*; and the Queen, who did nothing, thought of nothing, without her beloved and gracious husband, who was her support, her constant companion, her guide, who helped her in *everything*, great and small, stands *alone* in her trying and difficult position, struggling to do her duty, as she will to her last hour, with a broken, bleeding heart, and with but *one* consolation—to *rejoin him* again—*never* to *part*!

The Queen feels deeply grateful for the kind and universal sympathy shown her, and is gratified to see justice done to *him* whom she was *allowed* to call *husband*; a privilege *she ever* felt to be the greatest which ever fell to the lot of woman; great as was this privilege, proportionately great is also her affliction!

Our dear Alfred[1] returned last night!

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, *5th March* 1862.—The Queen returns these telegrams from Sir James Hudson.[2]

[1] Prince Alfred, the sailor Prince, afterwards Duke of Edinburgh, had been at sea in H.M.S. *Euryalus* when his father died.

[2] British Minister at Turin.

She could have wished to hear Lord Russell's opinion as to the probable effect of the change[1] on the future course of events in Italy, as well as on the relations of this country with the Italian Government.

The Queen must also observe that she would be very glad of more assistance generally from Lord Russell in forming her opinion on the various important questions affecting the foreign policy of this country, which now engage the attention of her Government.

It is very difficult for the Queen, when she is left without one word of explanation to assist her, to draw her own conclusions from the perusal of voluminous despatches from abroad (not always very regularly sent), when she receives drafts for her approval, and to judge, in her ignorance of the views of the Government, or of the reasons which have dictated them, whether she should approve them or not.

The assistance the Queen asks for is more than ever necessary now in her present desolation, when she has alas! alas! *no* one to look to for advice and help in these matters, or to prevent the duties she has to perform from becoming too much for her strength and health, which is now *very* far from what it was.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

Chesham Place, *7th March* 1862.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he feels that your Majesty ought to have every possible assistance, and he will endeavour to the best of his power to comply with your Majesty's wishes; but he must ask your Majesty's indulgence in the performance of this task, as the subjects of foreign policy are so many and so varying in their appearance that it is difficult to do more than prepare answers to those despatches which require answers, and read the very voluminous correspondence which reaches the

[1] Of government in Italy, where Ratazzi had succeeded Ricasoli as Prime Minister.

Foreign Office, and of which only a part is sent to your Majesty.

For example, the late change at Turin has been owing partly to a tissue of intrigues carried on by worthless men and women at Turin, and partly to a speech of Baron Ricasoli, very excellent in itself but which was supposed to countenance the warlike action of the Garibaldians against the Pope. The weak King, influenced by those around him, withdrew his confidence from Ricasoli, who thereupon resigned. Ratazzi, whose reputation is low, will be a mere tool of the Emperor Napoleon; but as the designs of the Emperor are *at this moment* pacific, no immediate mischief is to be apprehended, unless it be in the renewal of intrigues against Austria, which Ricasoli was too honest, and too high-minded, to countenance.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, *7th March* 1862. — Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to state that this afternoon Mr. Gregory,[1] who has travelled in the United States, and is a great champion of the southern Confederacy, made a speech of an hour and three quarters, the object of which was to prove that the blockades established by the Federal Government against the southern ports are not effective, or consistent with the law of nations, and that they ought not to be acquiesced in by Great Britain. He ended by moving for papers merely to place himself in order. He was seconded by Mr. Bentinck, who contended that the southern Confederacy ought to be acknowledged as an independent state, and who inveighed against democracies as more tyrannical than despots.

Mr. Forster,[2] member for Bradford, in a very

[1] Afterwards Sir William Gregory, and Governor of Ceylon.

[2] Afterwards the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, and, later, Chief Secretary for Ireland.

able speech, proved, by reference to returns and despatches laid before Parliament, that the blockades have been effective, and that they could not have been disregarded without a violation of principles of international law, which it is most important for Great Britain to maintain. Sir James Fergusson,[1] who was all over the United States last autumn, and sides with the south, took the same line of argument as Mr. Gregory. Mr. Milnes[2] defended the course pursued by the Government, and Mr. Lindsay vehemently contended that the blockades are illegal and ought to be disregarded. The Solicitor-General,[3] in a speech of great ability, full of argument, and extremely eloquent, proved to demonstration that it is impossible for Great Britain not to acquiesce in these blockades: that to force them would be an act of war, and would be a departure from principles, which if Great Britain was a belligerent she would be obliged stoutly to maintain and act upon. Lord Robert Cecil[4] contended that the southern Confederacy ought to be acknowledged, and, the motion of Mr. Gregory being negatived, the discussion came to an end.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *8th March* 1862.—The Queen thinks it right to communicate to Lord Russell the contents of a letter which the Crown Princess received from Berlin. She cannot, of course, vouch for the complete accuracy of its statements, but it seems to her very necessary that the points to which it refers should be taken into consideration.

The Queen is very anxious that a war between Prussia and Denmark should be avoided, and she has always been of opinion that the partition of Schleswig would be the best solution of that inter-

[1] Afterwards Postmaster-General, and Governor of Bombay.
[2] The poet, afterwards Lord Houghton.
[3] Sir Roundell Palmer, afterwards Lord Chancellor and 1st Earl of Selborne.
[4] Afterwards 3rd Marquis of Salisbury, and Prime Minister.

minable quarrel; and then she knows that the beloved Prince was strongly convinced of this idea.

The Queen hopes therefore that Lord Russell will take the question of the partition into serious consideration, and that any Prussian overtures on the subject will not be at once rejected, but duly considered.

The Queen admits that the Schleswig-Holstein question must be decided on its own merits. But the great danger of its leading to European complications must not be lost sight of; and though the possibility of inducing Prussia to act cordially with England on Italian affairs would not be a justifiable reason for taking a line on the Schleswig-Holstein question, not warranted by Treaty obligations, or by the consideration of what is just towards Denmark, yet it seems to the Queen that the greater security for the peace of the world which would result from the co-operation of Prussia with England, on the Italian question, should not be entirely overlooked.

The Queen wishes Lord Russell to communicate this letter to Lord Palmerston, and to send her afterwards the enclosure back.

The Queen thanks Lord Russell for his letter received yesterday.

She is much shaken by her return here.[1] . . .

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 10*th March* 1862.— . . . Lord Russell, according to your Majesty's directions, communicated to Viscount Palmerston your Majesty's letter of the 8th instant, the concluding part of which Viscount Palmerston could not read without much emotion. Your Majesty's return to Windsor must indeed have been a most trying and painful moment. Viscount Palmerston can only express his fervent hope that, for the sake of the nation which your Majesty governs, sufficient strength may be granted to your Majesty to bear up under the heavy affliction

[1] The Queen returned to Windsor from Osborne on 6th March.

with which it has been the will of Providence that your Majesty should be visited.

With respect to the Danish question, Viscount Palmerston, when some years ago he attempted to mediate between the two differing parties, suggested a division of Schleswig, but he found the Danish Government insuperably opposed to such an arrangement; and it must be owned that their objections were not wholly without some reason. The notion was that the part of Schleswig inhabited by Germans might be added to Holstein, and the part inhabited by Danes might be incorporated with Denmark. But it appeared, on examination, that the German and Danish inhabitants are not separated by any distinct topographical line, but in the central districts are mixed and blended together so that it would be impossible to draw any line of separation which would not include many Germans in the Danish half, and many Danes in the German half; and moreover, there is no natural line of division by river or mountains, and the line must be drawn arbitrarily across the country. The Danish Government also feel that such a division would be only the first step towards the absorption of the whole of Schleswig by Holstein.

Both parties in this dispute seem to be somewhat in the wrong; and unless more conciliation is shown on both sides, the question might undoubtedly lead to European complications. Such a result, however, might be attended with danger to either party, because it might happen that France as well as Sweden might take part with Denmark, and in that case the Prussian provinces on the Rhine might be exposed to considerable peril.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, 10*th March* 1862.

MY BELOVED VICTORIA,—I see that, to a certain extent, what I had hoped has happened. Windsor, with all its sad recollections, will leave a great impression on your heart, it will be a link more with our

beloved Angel, and, however painful, will still give the feeling of being *nearer* to the one so beloved. I see that you work with great courage, and, though fatiguing, it will give you a certain satisfaction doing what he wished, what he was anxious for.

You will recollect that our beloved Angel gave me at all times his confidence, that we rarely differed. Whenever you have the slightest desire I am always at your command to aid you. I have been intimately connected with the country, when, with the exception of a few ancients, none of the present people were, as it were, in existence or known of. I have, for near half a century, been a steady and a devoted friend of the country, never taking the slightest advantage of anything for myself, or for any vanity, even very trifling. Naturally my career is drawing near its close, but, as long as it is not terminated, you will find me the devoted, fatherly friend I have always been for you and our beloved Angel. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19*th March* 1862.—Saw Sir C. Phipps, who had been speaking with Mr. Gladstone about money matters. I feel very anxious about a provision for Bertie and his wife, in the event of his marrying; a provision for my younger sons on their coming of age and marrying; and a provision for the younger children under age, in case of my death. He showed me a very satisfactory paper from Mr. Gladstone on the subject. Then saw Mr. Gladstone for a little while, who was very kind and feeling. We talked of the state of the country. He spoke with such unbounded admiration and appreciation of my beloved Albert, saying no one could ever replace him.

Earl Granville to General Grey.

LONDON, 29*th March* 1862.

MY DEAR GREY,—The Commissioners and I have a deep sense of the interest which the Queen has shown

in the success of the opening of the Exhibition.[1] Her Majesty having written to the King of Prussia to send the Crown Prince to attend is most important. Will Prince Louis of Hesse be able to attend? A letter such as that suggested by the Queen, with regard to any Royal personages who may think of coming over, will be most useful. . . .

It is believed that many, encouraged by a knowledge of the Queen's wishes, and flattered by her Majesty allowing her carriages to be at their disposal, and being attended by some of her Household, are likely to come to their respective Ministers' houses.[2] Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

General Grey to Earl Granville.

[*Draft.*] 30*th March* 1862.

MY DEAR GRANVILLE,—I have submitted your letter of yesterday to the Queen, and the only point on which her Majesty would wish to make any remark, is as to the use of her carriages.

Her Majesty will gladly place them at the disposal of the foreign Princes, who may attend the opening ceremony,[3] or afterwards visit the Exhibition, to convey them to the building, or on other occasions such as visits to the Houses of Parliament, etc.; but it would be impossible and indecorous if her Majesty's carriages were seen at the theatres, or balls, or places of amusement of any description. You would doubtless be able to arrange this with the several foreign Ministers, so as to avoid the danger of giving offence. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 31*st March* 1862.—The Queen returns this draft.

She has so often expressed her opinion that it

[1] The second International Exhibition, held in London.

[2] The only other Royal personage, besides the Crown Prince of Prussia, who attended the opening of the Exhibition of 1862, was Prince Oscar of Sweden.

[3] A pencil note in the Queen's handwriting reads: "*Can* this be, with mourning livery?"

was useless and therefore undignified on the part of the Government to be continually making remonstrances which were attended with no result but that of producing irritation, that she is glad of Lord Russell's determination not to continue the discussions on the subject of the French occupation of Rome.

It is quite right, as a record of the opinion of the British Government, that the consequences of that occupation should be strongly but temperately stated. The Queen therefore approves of this draft. But would it not be better if Lord Russell left out the concluding paragraph, which is calculated to offend the French Government ?

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

CHESHAM PLACE, 1*st April* 1862.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and wishes to submit to your Majesty the following remarks.

The Emperor of the French appears to be following a system of undermining all governments which are in trouble. His agents inflame discontent, produce agitation, and this discontent and agitation are afterwards used as pretexts for interference.

Lord Russell remembers the Prince describing this policy to the Crown Prince of Prussia at Coburg, and ending by the just remark that it was a detestable policy.

Lord Russell asked the other day the King of the Belgians, whether he thought the Emperor wished to make war, and whether he would continue his intrigues in foreign countries. The King answered that in his opinion the Emperor did not wish to make war, but that he would continue his intrigues in foreign countries.

The Herzegovina, Montenegro, and southern Italy are now the principal scenes of these intrigues.

Lord Russell, unable to prevent these machinations, thinks it his duty to counteract them as far as possible. He wishes to point out this intrigue in Italy ; he has altered the last sentence to make it less offensive,

and has added a direction not to read the despatch. In this shape he trusts your Majesty will approve of it.

Viscount Palmerston to Lady Augusta Bruce.

94 Piccadilly, 6*th April* 1862.

My dear Lady Augusta,—Pray have the goodness to convey to the Queen my grateful thanks for the explanations which you were commanded to send me on the subject of her Majesty's health. This is a subject in which I cannot but take a deep interest, first as a loyal subject and servant of her Majesty, and secondly on account of the grateful attachment which I feel individually to her Majesty's person for the great kindness which for many years she has shown me. I had the honour of being presented to the Queen in her youthful days, when she was Princess Victoria; it was my fortune to be in the service of the Crown at her accession, and I have present to my mind, as if it had happened yesterday, the ceremony in the drawing-room at Kensington Palace when Lord Russell read to her Majesty the congratulatory address upon her accession to the throne. I was at Windsor on the evening when the Prince Consort and his brother arrived for the first time from Germany; I was present at her Majesty's marriage, and having had ample opportunities, during the years which have passed over since that time, of witnessing how complete was her happiness, I am able to understand and to appreciate the immensity of her loss, and the intensity of her present affliction.

Having thus watched her career from its beginning, and observed the progressive development and maturity of the great qualities of her head and heart, I must feel peculiarly anxious that her physical strength should be able to withstand the corroding influence of deeply seated sorrow, and that she should preserve that health, which, though she may not value it on her own account, she must see is necessary to enable her to perform those high and important

duties which, for the happiness of this nation, it has been the will of Providence that she should be destined to fulfil.

I am very glad to hear that Prince Leopold has returned in good health.

This letter will show that I have recovered the use of my right hand. My dear Lady Augusta, Yours sincerely, PALMERSTON.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 14*th April* 1862.—I went down to see Tennyson, who is very peculiar-looking, tall, dark, with a fine head, long black flowing hair, and a beard; oddly dressed, but there is no affectation about him. I told him how much I admired his glorious lines to my precious Albert, and how much comfort I found in his *In Memoriam*. He was full of unbounded appreciation of beloved Albert. When he spoke of my own loss, of that to the nation, his eyes quite filled with tears.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 30*th April* 1862.—The Queen feels it necesary to call the attention of Lord Palmerston to the enclosed published Mem. from the Admiralty.

Lord Palmerston will see that the Lords of the Admiralty state that they have caused additions to be made to the Queen's regulations. There is no mention of the Queen's sanction having been sought or obtained. The Queen is sure that the power thus assumed, of altering regulations issued under her authority, is one that Lord Palmerston will feel, equally with herself, cannot belong to any subject, whatever office he may hold.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 1*st June* 1862.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he thinks it may be agreeable to your Majesty to receive every

week an account of the occurrences in foreign affairs of immediate interest.

There are at present many transactions taking place on the Continent, which though exceedingly important are not of pressing concern to Great Britain.

Of this nature is the contest between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany. Unfortunately there can be no room for doubt that these two Powers are animated by the strongest spirit of distrust and rivalry against each other. But the only fear which England can entertain is that one of the two may be induced to yield German interests to France, for the sake of French support.

The recent appointment of M. Bismarck to Paris leads to some apprehension that Prussia looks to a French alliance, and is disposed to make sacrifices to obtain it. M. Bismarck is well known to be a partisan of Russia and of France, and to look to these two Powers for support. But it would hardly be possible to induce the King of Prussia, who is a German, a soldier, and an honest man, to make any unworthy concessions to France. . . .

Queen Victoria to Major-General Bruce.[1]

[*Extract.*]

5th June 1862.— . . . The great object we must all have in view, and it was *the* only one our beloved Prince and Master, our Guide and Councillor, had in view, is the *real* good of the Royal Princes. The *real* good means their steady development in everything that is great, virtuous, and useful, and that will render them good sons, husbands, brothers, and citizens, and benefactors to mankind in general. To obtain this no effort must be left untried, and no one has been left untried, though perhaps not always with success. . . .

The Queen must now be guided by what is for

[1] See note above, p. 9.

her children's permanent good *before everything else*, and she feels that a higher power and a purer spirit than her own guides and strengthens her when most she needs it. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *6th June* 1862.—The Queen wishes to ask Lord Russell whether our Minister at Athens is not instructed to exercise a more direct interference in the internal affairs of Greece, than is consistent with the principles on which the Foreign Policy of this country is usually conducted.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

CHESHAM PLACE, *7th June* 1862.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he feels the full force of your Majesty's comments on this draft, but the case is one almost of necessity. Mr. Elliot's[1] despatches, M. Thouvenel's[2] observations to Lord Cowley,[3] and the Russian policy of Prince Gortchakoff[4] show a state of imminent danger in Greece. The King is exceedingly unpopular; the Consul of Greece in Corfu openly proposed to Mr. Elliot that your Majesty's son Prince Alfred should be called to the Throne of Greece.

On the other hand the Bavarian Dynasty[5] take no pains to secure the succession. Unless your Majesty's Government can succeed by advice in averting the danger, the probability is that there will be an insurrection in Greece to set aside the Bavarian Dynasty and put up the Duke of Leuchtenberg. France would probably accept this change, and the violated Treaty will then have to be abandoned, or defended by force of arms, at the risk of a European war.

[1] British Minister in Greece, afterwards Sir Henry Elliot, Ambassador at Constantinople and in Vienna.
[2] French Foreign Minister.
[3] British Ambassador in Paris.
[4] Russian Chancellor.
[5] King Otho of Greece was a Bavarian Prince.

Lord Russell sees no objection in principle to giving advice to avert war. We have often advised the King of Italy to discourage Garibaldi, and unless we have made up our minds to abandon Turkey, we ought to employ all the influence of your Majesty's Government in preventing a revolution[1] in Greece.

This policy is more fully developed in the instructions to Mr. Elliot, which your Majesty has seen.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *7th June* 1862.—Held a Council, at which an Order in Council was passed, making the signature [by me] of the first commission in the Army sufficient, without *each* one being signed singly. This, beloved Albert had always wished should be done, and, now that I am so busy, it is absolutely necessary.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11*th June* 1862.—The Queen meant to speak to Lord Russell (but felt too nervous to do so) and therefore writes about a letter which the beloved Prince wrote to him in the *year '50*, about Lord Palmerston, which letter Lord Russell only showed to Lord Lansdowne, saying that he (Lord L.) observed that what was *therein* stated was *quite true.*

The beloved Prince once asked Lord Russell about that letter, and he replied that he had *never* shown it anyone else, and had sealed up and locked it in a drawer. Now the Queen thinks that it would be *best* if Lord Russell would return this letter to the Queen (a copy of it exists amongst the Prince's most confidential papers) who could place it with the copy. She has taken care to secure the *future* safety of *all* these most precious papers, which contain views (collected by her beloved husband) of *all* points—*public and private*—which are of inestimable value.

[1] The revolution broke out and King Otho was deposed.

The Queen has been and is still occupied in writing and leaving directions of every kind and sort, in case of her death; for *now* she has *no* longer *him*, to whom she would have *confided all*, and who would have known what ought to have been done with every thing, she felt anxious that everything should be *wisely and safely arranged*. This she hopes she has *effectually* done.

The Queen, having said this much about herself, wishes to say that *she* trusts that Lord Russell has taken care that, in case of anything happening to him, all his papers are safe, and hers and the Prince's letters to him should be returned to her?[1]

Feeling ill and weakly and longing, as the poor wretched Queen does, to join her dearly beloved and adored husband, her mind is naturally much occupied with leaving this world, and therefore with the importance of having everything in order.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th June* 1862.—Heard of Bertie's landing,[2] after a boisterous crossing. The good General[3] none the worse for it. Bertie arrived at half past five, looking extremely well. I was much upset at seeing him, and feeling his beloved father was not there to welcome him back. He would have been so pleased to see him so improved, and looking so bright and healthy. Dear Bertie was most affectionate, and the tears came into his eyes when he saw me. Drove with Alice and Augusta B[ruce]. Saw Sir C. Phipps, who had seen General Bruce, and said he required the greatest quiet, and was hardly to be recognised with his white beard, so thin and haggard, and not able to walk alone. After dinner saw good Dr. Minter, who gave me an account of Bertie, and of the General's illness. Then Dr. Stanley came, and

[1] Queen Victoria's letters to Lord Russell were returned, and are now among the Royal Archives at Windsor.

[2] On his return from his visit to the Near East.

[3] Major-General Bruce.

I thanked him for all he had done for our boy. He was so kind and full of sympathy, which I shall not easily forget. He spoke most kindly of Bertie, and thanked me for having asked his sister here to meet him. Remained some time talking with him.

[*Copy.*] *Sir Charles Phipps to Earl Granville.*

Private. WINDSOR CASTLE, 17*th June* 1862.

MY DEAR GRANVILLE,—I found your letter with its enclosure upon my return here this afternoon, and immediately sent it up to the Queen.

I sincerely regret that her Majesty does not feel that she can sanction the proposal[1] contained in your letter and Dr. Playfair's programme.

Her Majesty directs me to say that she has laid it down as a principle, founded on deep feeling, that none of her sons and daughters shall take part, during this year of grief, in any public ceremony; and that having directed this principle to be declared, in answer to many applications for the attendance of the Prince of Wales upon many occasions, her Majesty could not, without falsifying all that she has before declared, depart from this rule and allow her eldest son to take the principal part in a great public ceremonial.

The Queen has been most anxious, as far as her sad circumstances, and her feelings, would permit, to do everything to patronise and assist the Great Exhibition, but she cannot depart from what she considers to be a rule that should bind the children of the great Prince for this year, as a tribute of respect and affection.—C. B. P.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 17*th June* 1862.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has the painful task of informing your Majesty of the

[1] That the Prince of Wales should distribute prizes at the Exhibition.

death of Lord Canning,[1] at 6.15 this morning. It is a severe loss to your Majesty. Divine Providence has of late appeared to be pleased to select for death the greatest and the best.

Queen Victoria to the Marchioness of Clanricarde.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 17*th June* 1862.

DEAR LADY CLANRICARDE,—To you as the sister of dear Lord Canning, I write to express my *deep sorrow* at his untimely end, and to say how my beloved and precious husband and I valued and esteemed him, and how we looked to him to be of the greatest use to his Sovereign and country!

Your dear brother had gone through the greatest difficulties and dangers, supported by his dear and excellent wife, had triumphed over all, and shown such wisdom, moderation, and courage! He was expected home to receive the honours and distinctions which his Sovereign so willingly bestowed on him, and the welcome of so many friends! On the eve of his return he loses *her*[2] who was so devoted to him, and his Sovereign is bowed down with the loss of her own great and good husband, who was all in all to her and her country!

Under these circumstances Lord Canning returned to his native land. God has *taken* him, and he is again with *her* after only seven months' separation! Oh! for *him* HOW blessed! How enviable to follow so soon the partner of your life! How I pray it may be God's will to let *me* follow mine soon! But for you all, and for the country and me, your dear brother is a grievous loss!

Might I ask you to convey to Lady Stuart and Lady Waterford, to whom this must be a new shock, the expression of my sincere sympathy, and believe me, always yours very sincerely, V. R.

[1] Who had recently returned to England at the close of his term as Viceroy of India.

[2] Lady Canning died in India in November 1861. See First Series, vol. iii, ch. 30.

Sir Charles Phipps to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 18*th June* 1862.

MY DEAR LORD PALMERSTON,—The Queen commands me to write to you to say that she understood from Sir George Grey that a decision had been arrived at to discontinue the works at the forts at Spithead, at any rate for the present.

Her Majesty had not heard of this before, and is rather alarmed at any alteration of a system of defence which had been so long and well considered, particularly in a locality concerning which the probability of her frequent residence at Osborne makes her so personally anxious.—C. B. P.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 22*nd June* 1862.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and in answer to the letter he has received from Sir Charles Phipps, begs to say that before Easter, in compliance with the strong opinion of the House of Commons, the work begun on the Spithead forts was suspended. The beginning which had been made was indeed very small, and it consisted in some cylinders sunk on the Horse Sand, as the commencement of the foundation, and it is now proposed to continue the suspension of the work till next spring, by which time experiments will have been made as to the power of cannon to send shot through iron plating at different distances.

The feeling of the House of Commons, founded upon the battles of iron-cased ships in America,[1] was that iron-cased ships could with impunity pass through the heaviest fire from a fort, and that therefore no forts could stop iron-plated ships. But immediately after the news came from America, upon which that opinion was founded, came the experiment at Shoeburyness, by which it was found that a heavy shot from a large Armstrong gun had penetrated the iron-

[1] See Introductory Note to this chapter.

plating of a target in all respects like the side of the *Warrior*. But then it is to be observed that the shot, when fired off with fifty pounds of powder, only went through the iron-plating, and lodged in the teak behind it, without going through that which represents the ship's side; so that men standing immediately behind the spot struck would not have been hurt. It is also to be observed that this was done at a distance of only two hundred yards between the gun and the target. Now the proposed forts at the east end of the Isle of Wight will be two thousand four hundred yards apart, so that a ship steaming through the middle of the space between them would be twelve hundred yards from either fort, and it yet remains to be seen whether any gun can send a shot which will make any impression on the iron-plating of a ship at so great a distance. Sir William Armstrong says he can and will make a gun that will send a shot which even at that distance will pierce iron-plating.

Now the value of forts placed in the proposed positions must depend very much upon the result of such experiments. If guns can be made which will send shot which will pierce armour-plating at a thousand or twelve hundred yards, then there can be no doubt as to the usefulness of the proposed forts: if, on the other hand, it should turn out that at a thousand yards an iron-plated ship cannot be injured by any gun that can be made, then the question will arise whether some other arrangement may not be thought of, better adapted for the defence of Spithead and Portsmouth from ships entering the Solent by St. Helens.

The original recommendation of the Defence Commissioners was that protection to Portsmouth from attack from the sea side should be afforded by a combination of forts and floating batteries. The tendency of opinion at present in the House of Commons, is that such protection can be most effectually afforded by iron-cased floating batteries, which would

go out and fight at close quarters any enemy that might attempt to come into the Solent.

Your Majesty's Government are quite of opinion that floating batteries cased with iron must form an essential part of the defensive force, and the Duke of Somerset is taking steps to provide them with as little delay as possible. The question as to the best position for forts deserves to be maturely considered, because it would be unwise to incur any considerable expense in constructing forts which from their position might, even with the most improved cannon, not be able to stop or to injure the iron-cased ships of an enemy.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.[1]

OSBORNE, 30*th June* 1862.—The loss of our dear, valued, and high-minded General Bruce [2] is irreparable to the Queen, the poor Prince of Wales, and all of us, and has shaken her greatly. He possessed our (that is, the beloved Prince's and the Queen's) entire confidence, was a second father to our dear child, and a worthy servant and friend of her beloved Prince, whom he has gone to join *so soon.*

But it is too mysterious, too dreadful to lose *all* the best and most valuable servants and friends, and to see the greatest and best taken.

God knows best.

The Prince of Wales is deeply grieved; he is greatly improved, and most affectionate, dutiful, and amiable, and only anxious to do whatever his Mother and Father wish.

For the present Sir Charles Phipps, General Grey, Colonel Biddulph, are so good as to act in turn for the lamented General, and, later, the Queen will take good care to make such a selection as would meet her beloved husband's wishes.

[1] In pencil.

[2] He had accompanied the Prince of Wales, as his Governor, on H.R.H.'s tour in the Near East. There he contracted a fever, and died shortly after the return home, on 27th June.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 1*st July* 1862.—Scarcely got any sleep. Towards morning heard all the preparations for to-day's ceremony [1] going on. It tried me terribly. Alice got up and came and kissed me, and I gave her my blessing and a Prayer Book, like one dear Mama gave me on *our* happy wedding morning. Went with Col. Biddulph to look at the Dining-room, which was very prettily decorated, the altar being placed under our large family picture. All the furniture had been removed, and plants and flowers placed everywhere. . . .

The time had come, and I, in my "sad cap," as baby calls it, most sad on such a day, went down with our four boys, Bertie and Affie leading me. It was a terrible moment for me. No one was in the room but the Archbishop of York [2] (the Archbishop of Canterbury [3] not being well enough to come), the Dean of Windsor,[4] and Mr. Prothero,[5] who were in their places near the altar. Then all the guests came in, and the different Households. I sat all the time in an armchair, Bertie and Affie close to me. The Hessian family stood opposite, Clémentine, Augustus, and Nemours next to them. After a short pause Louis came in, conducted by Lord Sydney,[6] and followed by his two brothers William and Henry. After another pause came the dear dear Bride on her Uncle's arm, followed by the Bridesmaids, a touching sight. The service then commenced, the Archbishop performing it beautifully. Alice answered so distinctly and was full of dignity and self-possession. Louis also answered very distinctly. I restrained my tears, and had a great struggle all through, but remained calm.

[1] The marriage of Princess Alice to Prince Louis of Hesse.
[2] Dr. Thomson.
[3] Dr. Longley.
[4] Dr. Gerald Wellesley.
[5] Rector of Whippingham, afterwards Canon of Westminster.
[6] Lord Chamberlain.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, *9th July* 1862.

MY DEAR BERTIE,—Though I quite share your feelings that, from affection and respect to the memory of your beloved and valued General Bruce, it would be more fitting *not* actually to appoint publicly a successor to him for some little time, still I feel (and I know it, because Lord Palmerston wrote *very anxiously* to me upon the subject) that it will *not* do to leave you without a gentleman in *that* position, to whom you could apply for everything, and who could exclusively belong to you. For, though Sir Charles Phipps, General Grey, and Colonel Biddulph are most kind and ready to be of use to you in every possible way, still their duties are very onerous, and *they cannot* devote their time exclusively to you, or you indeed feel it equally agreeable to talk on *all* private matters with those, who, though most kindly devoted to you, are *not* to remain permanently about you. I have ascertained that General Knollys [1] will be quite ready to undertake the office and to become your Comptroller and Treasurer, for you are now too near *21* to have a Governor freshly appointed. But he will naturally be a species of mentor, for no young Prince can be without a person of experience, and of a certain age, who would keep him from doing what was hurtful to him, or unfit for his position, and who would be responsible to me to a great extent for what took place. He would be the person to whom you would go for advice and assistance on all occasions.

I know of *no* other person so well fitted as General Knollys, for *he* possessed beloved Papa's great esteem and confidence; he is very amiable, particularly pleasant and agreeable, has *great* experience of the

[1] Sir W. T. Knollys, K.C.B. (1797–1883), a Peninsular veteran, who initiated the Prince Consort into soldiering and who organised the Aldershot Camp. He remained Comptroller to the Prince of Wales till 1877, when he became Black Rod. The 1st Viscount Knollys (1837–1924) was his son.

world, and singular tact and temper, of which he gave such abundant proof during his command at Aldershot. He is, besides, very fond of *young people*. He is, *I* own, the only person I directly thought of when our terrible loss of dear General Bruce took place. I shall see him on Saturday or Sunday, and you can do so also, and then I would propose that he should come and stay with you at *Birk Hall* for some time, so that you might become *quite acquainted* with him, that he afterwards should attend you abroad, when you go to Brussels and join me. Sir Charles Phipps would also go with you to Brussels, and be at hand in case of anything further being necessary. I feel sure that you will find it very easy to get on with General Knollys, when you come to know him. I shall therefore now, in a day or two, write confidentially to Lord Palmerston, to inform him of the choice I have made, and which I *know* would meet with beloved Papa's sanction and approval.

I will, to-morrow or next day, send you a little sketch of what I think would be the best and most agreeable arrangement for you, for the time between October and your marriage, which I think you would like should be early next Spring. Ever your affectionate and unhappy Mama, V. R.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 24*th Aug.* 1862. . . . In America there is more animosity than ever. There is no other course to be taken at present than to wait. For the effort tends to exhaustion and finally to peace.

Garibaldi [1] has hitherto been unresisted, but the Government of Turin seems at length disposed to view the matter seriously. General Cialdini and General La Marmora are two determined men, and will carry into effect the orders they may receive.

[1] See Introductory Note.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

LAEKEN,[1] *3rd Sept.* 1862.—At half past 1 went down to luncheon with the girls, going first to the Drawing-room where Marie B[rabant][2] and Mrs. Paget[3] introduced Princess Christian, who presented her two daughters Alexandra and Dagmar,[4] and Prince Christian.[5] I had seen him last twenty-four years ago. The Brabants and Philip[6] were also there. Alexandra is lovely, such a beautiful refined profile, and quiet ladylike manner, which made a most favourable impression. Dagmar is quite different, with fine brown eyes. Princess Christian must have been quite good-looking. She is unfortunately very deaf. Uncle soon came in, and after a rather stiff visit they all (excepting myself) went to luncheon. I spoke to Mrs. Paget in the next room and told her I was favourably impressed. Baby lunched with me.

Afterwards Marie B. brought Prince and Princess Christian upstairs, leaving them with me. Now came the terribly trying moment for me. *I* had *alone* to say and do what, under other, former happy circumstances, had devolved on us both together. It was not without much emotion that I was able to express what I did to the Princess: my belief that they knew what we wished and hoped, which was terrible for me to say *alone*. I said that I trusted their dear daughter would feel, should she accept our son, that she was doing so with her whole heart and will. They assured me that Bertie *might hope* she would do so, and that they trusted *he* also felt a real inclination, adding that they hoped God would give their dear child strength to do what she ought, and that she might be able to pour some comfort into my poor

[1] King Leopold's Palace at Brussels.

[2] Wife of the Duke of Brabant, King Leopold's elder son, afterwards King Leopold II.

[3] Wife of the Minister at Copenhagen.

[4] Afterwards Empress of Russia and now the Ex-Empress Marie.

[5] Princess Alexandra's father succeeded in the late autumn of 1863 to the Throne of Denmark.

[6] Count of Flanders, younger son of King Leopold.

heart, that they were sure she would become quickly attached to me, and be a good wife to Bertie. I replied I would do all I could to be a *real* mother to her, but I feared she was entering a very sad house. Thus ended this most trying meeting. Feodore afterwards came to my room and I told her all. She spoke with great admiration of the young Princess.

Dined as yesterday, and afterwards Prince and Princess Christian and Princess Alexandra came upstairs. She looked lovely, in a black dress, nothing in her hair, and curls on either side, which hung over her shoulders, her hair turned back off her beautiful forehead. Her whole appearance was one of the greatest charm, combined with simplicity and perfect dignity. I gave her a little piece of white heather, which Bertie gave me at Balmoral, and I told her I hoped it would bring her luck. Dear Uncle Leopold, who sat near me, was charmed with her. Very tired, and felt low and agitated.

REINHARDTSBRUNN,[1] *9th Sept.*—Saw Lord Russell[2] and talked of Bertie's marriage, of France, Germany, and the Schleswig-Holstein question. We discussed the importance of Bertie's marriage being in *no* sense considered a *political* one. Had a telegram from Bertie, which shortly afterwards General Grey sent back deciphered, to the effect that he "had proposed and been accepted this day," and asking "for my consent and blessing." So it *is* settled. Lenchen and Louise delighted to hear the news.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, 11*th September* 1862.

MY BELOVED VICTORIA,—I believe that Bertie writes every moment to you, and I therefore limit myself to the chief features of our affairs. These features strike me as very favourable; the match is really quite a love match; Bertie is extremely happy and in admiration of his very lovely bride.

[1] A picturesque castle near Gotha. [2] Minister in attendance.

H. R. H. The Princess of Wales
at the Time of her Marriage.
From a picture by R. Lauchert.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

All the arguments that one forced him to marry a young lady he had never seen, fall most completely to the ground; and this is important, particularly for England, where it will please people very much that the Prince of Wales, like his parents, should marry from affection.

I must say that I take very much to my future *petite-nièce*, and the dear child is very kind to me. I am only sorry that I can not much more (*sic*), and am thereby less able to be with the dear children. Bertie expressed the wish to remain till the 16th, and I need not say that it makes me very happy that they are here, and that things have been arranged here; it will leave them a pleasing recollection. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

GOTHA, 17*th Sept.* 1862.—Saw Lord Russell and talked of the alarming state of affairs at Berlin, of its being far better the King should abdicate.[1]

COBURG, 12*th Oct.*—Heard two days ago that the King of Prussia wished to come and see me for a few hours. He arrived this morning at 6, and at half past 9, as soon as I was dressed, I saw him in my room. He was very much affected, and was most kind, evidently much moved at seeing me. He did not allude to politics, only said, with tears in his eyes, how much he felt the weight of his position. He breakfasted with me and the two girls, the other children being in the room. Drove up to the Festung, the King, myself, Alexandrine, and Le nchen. He was enchanted with everything and enormously struck with the magnificent view from the bastion. Got home at half past 12, and then the King took leave.

OSBORNE, 1*st Nov.*—Saw Lord Granville and felt very nervous and anxious. Then Lord Palmerston and Lord Stanley [of Alderley], with Mr. Helps, came into dear Albert's room, and I read

[1] See Introductory Note. [2] Duchess of Coburg.

with a trembling voice the declaration of Bertie's marriage, and approved of three matters. They had shortened the business for me, but still, short as it was, I found it very trying. The children were quite distressed at my pale face, when I came down to luncheon.

5th Nov.—News came at quarter to 8 that the *Black Eagle* was in sight. It was still foggy, but moonlight, and various rockets and signals had been decided on. The children were greatly excited. Lenchen and Leopold went down, the only representatives of our family, and that poor little boy the only Prince of the family. Oh! how terribly I felt the contrast with former days and now!! Took some soup and waited a long time with Louise and Beatrice downstairs. At last, at 9, dear Alexandra arrived with her father, looking very lovely and well. A gleam of satisfaction for a moment shone into my heart as I led "*our*" future daughter upstairs to her room. The event I had so fondly, eagerly, looked forward to for years, feeling it would be *such* a joy in comparison to the weddings of our daughters, and the sorrow of parting with them, was now really coming to pass. How I realised this as I clasped dear Alix in my arms!

15th Nov.—Saw Sir Charles Wood and showed him some drafts of Lord Russell's, together with my answer, explaining that he had not shown *one* of them to the Cabinet. Pointed out the foolishness of the system pursued with such bad results, in constantly irritating France about Italy, which I had desired should not be done.

16th Nov.—Saw Lord Granville and had a long conversation with him on the various points I had mentioned to Sir Charles Wood, regarding Lord Russell not having shown the despatches properly. Lord Granville advised my saying and doing nothing further on the subject now. Saw Sir Charles Wood later, who urged me *not* to call upon the Cabinet for support, excepting when I disapproved of the

policy pursued, which I assured him I should never do, unless I could not possibly avoid it. I said I felt bound to watch that no objectionable despatches should be sent. Upon the whole Lord Russell had very been amenable to reason, up to these last two despatches.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, 20*th November* 1862.

MY BELOVED VICTORIA,—I have to thank you for your dear sad letter of the 18th. How much everything must have recalled those days in December last! We had then the same sort of weather, gloomy and melancholy to a extreme. Alix's sweet face is so very much *comme un rayon de soleil*, that it must at least for moments cheer you. It is a great acquisition, and one may expect to see that *ménage* going on well.

Poor Prince Christian wishes to succeed in Denmark, it is therefore natural that he should show himself very Scandinavian. The Greeks are right to wish for an English King, also in the hope of making the acquisition of the Ionian Islands. The task will be very difficult, particularly as a constitutional government; a *dictature* would be more likely to succeed.

I have seen with regret your Cabinet giving for the moment *une fin de non recevoir* to the French proposition.[1] I suppose they apprehended that it might do harm to the elections. The Emperor did the thing a little abruptly. In itself a mediation is nothing more than an offer to bring about an understanding, and could in the present instance never by any means be understood as a hostile measure. The refusal on the part of the Americans would have led naturally to the recognition of the South. At present your Government admits that the two fractions are *belligerents*; recognising this implies already that

[1] For mediation between North and South in the United States Civil War.

the Southern States are independent, as no fraction of States could make war on the remainder in this regular way without being independent of the other. The point of most vital importance to England is, that there should be two great Republics instead of one, the more so as the South can never be manufacturing, and the North, on the contrary, is so already to a great extent, and actually in many markets a rival. . . .

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *25th Nov.* 1862.—The Queen saw Lord Russell, who expressed much anxiety upon the question of the Greek succession, and feared it might become very dangerous. The Queen said she could not understand why people seemed to think that there was the *possibility* of her wishing Prince Alfred to accept the Crown, and she wished it could be contradicted.[1]

This Lord Russell did not seem to wish, for he was afraid it would lead to the election of the Duke of Leuchtenberg, which was much to be deprecated; he seemed even, like Lord Palmerston, not to appear to see the *total* impossibility of Prince Alfred's becoming King, till the Queen told him that upon no earthly account and under no circumstances would she ever consent to it, and she knew that this would have been the Prince's feelings, Major Cowell[2] having told her that he had had a conversation with the Prince some time ago to this effect; that the Prince of Wales might have no children, might die, that Prince Alfred had other duties which called him to Coburg, that, though there were four sons now, there had been five fine healthy Princes in Portugal, and three had been swept away in two months; consequently that we could not spare one here; besides which, Prince Alfred's children never could be brought

[1] See Introductory Note.

[2] Governor to Prince Alfred, afterwards Sir John Cowell of the Household.

up Greeks, and lastly he was too young; to all of which Lord Russell assented. But there was the difficulty who to choose and who to agree upon. The French and Russians behaved with the greatest dishonesty about it, and he was quite happy to see how very much annoyed they were at the prospect of Prince Alfred's election. The Queen then said that she had written by Lord Palmerston's request to her cousin King Ferdinand of Portugal,[1] to sound him whether he would, in the event of his being thought a fit person for the vacant throne, accept the Crown, and the Queen asked Lord Russell to make arrangements to send the letter safely as there were no longer regular packets going to Lisbon; she thought he would make a particularly good King, though Prince Nicholas of Nassau would perhaps be still better, from the long experience of the former[2] in Constitutional Government, in which Lord Russell agreed, but feared the Emperor might possibly object, as he had done to Prince Nicholas, which objection to the latter, he feared, was merely a pretext to get the Duke of Leuchtenberg elected, which he (the Emperor) wished as much as the Russians, on account of his being descended from a Beauharnais.

Lord Russell said he wondered whether the Greeks, who pretended they would not have a Catholic, would object to a Prince not of a Sovereign House, for instance Prince Victor Hohenlohe (Ct. Gleichen), which amused the Queen, who hardly thought him up to it, though he was full of spirit, and mentioned Prince Leiningen as fitter, but then unfortunately he had no children; he had, however, a brother, who was clever, and, Lord Russell said, could succeed him.

The Queen then named Prince William of Baden, upon which Lord Russell observed he was not suffi-

[1] Of the House of Coburg, King-Consort of Queen Maria II "da Gloria" of Portugal, and father of King Pedro (d. Nov. 1861, see First Series, Vol. iii, ch. 30) and of King Luiz, who succeeded Pedro.

[2] King Ferdinand.

ciently related to our family, and the Greeks' objection to a German Prince would not exist, if he were a *near* relation to the Queen and Prince.

Upon this the Queen said that Prince Edward Leiningen might very possibly do for that position, as he was clever and had no ties to bind him or preclude him from going there; Lord Russell said would he be persuaded to marry Princess Mary?[1] The Queen feared not; she named another relation of hers, a very clever and excellent person, viz. the Hereditary Prince of Holstein-Augustenburg, who had married her niece Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe. The Queen thought that there would be a degree of justice in placing him on that throne, considering that we had been instrumental in depriving him of his just rights to the Duchy of Holstein.[2]

The conversation ended by Lord Russell saying he would write at once to Lord Palmerston, about all the last-named candidates.

The Queen felt, all the time, more than ever the dreadful overwhelming loss of the beloved, adored Prince, whose advice on this, as on *all* other occasions, would have been of such immense service to us all! Here is an event affecting Europe, and *our family*, upon which he would have been looked to, most anxiously and unanimously, for advice, and *he* is not here! It would have interested him very much, and he would have known what was right at once; but the Queen humbly trusts that *he* will be satisfied, and that her poor efforts to do what she thought he would approve may meet with his blessing.

To write *this* without *him*, and in so far inferior a style to his admirable Memorandums, has been very dreadful, very trying!

She feels *very* anxious—but she trusts she shall be guided by *him*, to act *rightly* and for the best.—V. R.

[1] Of Cambridge, afterwards Duchess of Teck.

[2] By the Treaty of London of 1852. See Introductory Note to ch. 2.

Sir Charles Phipps to Earl Russell.

[*Draft.*] [? *December* 1862.]

My dear Lord Russell,—The Queen has commanded me to write to you for her, and to say, in her Majesty's name, with regard to the drafts which have reference to Japan,[1] that the directions therein contained are of so serious a character—involving possibly a sanguinary contest with the Japanese, and a disruption of all the present relations between the countries established by Treaty—that her Majesty cannot but think that these drafts should be submitted to the Cabinet before they are sent out.

Her Majesty would be quite ready to agree to measures of reprisal for the protection of her subjects in these distant and wild countries, and to enforce punishment for the savage crimes committed; but the Queen strongly thinks that the opinion of the whole of her Ministers should be ascertained before the country is committed to demand a reparation which the Government of Japan may have no power to enforce.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

Windsor Castle, *9th Dec.* 1862.—Saw Lord Russell, who talked of Bertie's Marriage Treaty, then of the very important decision of the Cabinet to recommend me to give up the Protectorate of the Ionian Islands,[1] and to give them to Greece. It would be a boon to them, and it was hoped would ensure their not attacking Turkey. How I did miss beloved Albert, his advice, his opinion! These are such important events, and he is not here any more to share the responsibility with me. But dear Albert would certainly have agreed and approved. The Ionian Islands are not a colony, very disaffected, and would be no strength to us in case of war. Told Lord Russell that I consented, but at the same time pointed out that I did not think either he, or Lord

[1] See Introductory Note to ch. 2.

Palmerston, had been very straightforward in their conduct towards the Greeks.

10*th Dec.*—Saw Mr. Gladstone. Spoke of Greece, regretting the conduct of some of the Government, and the lack of straightforwardness at the beginning, which had caused such excitement; of the compliment paid to the English nation in asking for one of my sons; of Bertie's Treaty of Marriage, and of the Dowry being small (only £30,000 a year) and not sufficient for supporting eventual children. This, he said, was clear, and he would take care it was understood. In private life, I said, the Dowry never was meant but for the widow, the children always having something set apart for them. I observed that, had Albert survived me, he never could have supported the children without an additional sum! Mr. Gladstone added, that it was quite certain that even Albert for *himself* could not have been able to go on, without an addition to his income, independently of what had been given for the children. This would have been quite understood. Was glad to hear this, though the occasion for it is, alas! past.

14*th Dec.*[1]—Oh! this dreadful, dreadful day! At 10 we went into the dear room (all the children but Baby there) and Dr. Stanley most kindly held a little service for us, reading Prayers and some portions of the 14th and 16th Chapters of St. John, and spoke a few and most comforting and beautiful words. The room was full of flowers, and the sun shining in so brightly, emblems of his happiness and glory, which comforted me. I said it seemed like a birthday, and Dr. Stanley answered, "It *is* a birthday in a new world." Oh! to think of my beginning another year alone! Went with Alice and Louis to Frogmore, and into the Mausoleum, then drove a little afterwards. Lunched alone with Baby. Out with Augusta B[ruce]. When I came home the good kind Dean[2] came to see me, and

[1] The first anniversary of the Prince Consort's death.
[2] Of Windsor, Dr. Wellesley.

was very sad. The last Sunday they had had appropriate music at St. George's. Alice dined with me, and then at 10 we had Prayers in the King's Bedroom, all the children, myself, and the Duchess of Atholl, Countess Blücher, Augusta B., Mrs. Bruce,[1] Lady Caroline Barrington, and some of the servants being there. Dr. Stanley performed the short, but most impressive, touching service. It was full of comfort, though I was a good deal upset.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, 15*th December* 1862.

MY DEAR BELOVED BEREAVED CHILD,—*All my thoughts* were with you yesterday, and what you must have felt so near the remains of our dear Angel. The thought that those removed from the troubles of this earthly life, who [are] *like him*, are susceptible to become immediately beings of a superior kind, is most consoling, and I *believe firmly in it*, as it is in perfect conformity with what we observe throughout the creation. May he have witnessed how sincerely beloved he still is, and his spirit must have felt it as an additional blessing. Often I have felt how happy one should be if one could take off the earthly existence like a garment, how light and free the soul should feel. . . .

Ferdinand will then not hear of what was proposed; it is a great pity, but he seems quite determined on the subject. If I was younger I should undertake it with pleasure, with the Ionian Islands, which changes the whole position, not without them. Has Ferdinand been told of this chance of the Ionian Islands? He is too much *ein Lebemann*. At the end of life very little remains when you lived but for that. And now I will not fatigue you, and only add that my affectionate thoughts are with you and that I remain ever, my dearest child, your devoted Uncle, LEOPOLD R.

[1] Widow of General Bruce, the Prince of Wales's Governor.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 18*th Dec.* 1862.—Woke very often during the night, thinking of the sacred work to be carried out at 7 o'clock. At that hour the precious earthly Remains were to be carried with all love and peace to their final resting-place by our three sons (for little Leopold had earnestly begged to go too). Dear Louis, Sir C. Phipps, Col. Biddulph, General Grey, as well as Löhlein and Maget (dear Albert's two valets), were there too. I cannot say more. I got some sleep during that time, and later Alice came to tell me all had been peacefully and lovingly accomplished. Dull, raining, and mild. Took half an hour's drive with Alice, and at quarter to 1 we all drove down as yesterday to Frogmore, taking Baby with us. Waited a little while in the house, and then walked to the Mausoleum, entering it, preceded only by the Dean.[1] It seemed so like the day at Frogmore, when Albert was so dear and loving. Everyone entered, each carrying a wreath. The Dean, with a faltering voice, read some most appropriate Prayers. We were all much overcome when we knelt round the beloved tomb. When everybody had gone out, we returned again and gazed on the great beauty and peace of the beautiful statue. What a comfort it will be to have that near me! Lunched as yesterday. Afterwards saw the dear kind Duchess of Atholl, who brought me a handsome Bible, which has been given me and subscribed for by "many Widows." The very poorest have joined, eighty of the Hartley Colliery widows amongst them. Drove with Countess Blücher, and on coming home, saw the good Dean, who has felt all so much. Alice dined with me, and we saw Dr. Stanley afterwards for a short while.

[1] Dr. Gerald Wellesley, Dean of Windsor.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER II

Albert Edward Prince of Wales was married to Princess Alexandra of Denmark in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on 10th March 1863. The Queen was present in the Royal Closet, but took no part in the ceremony. Afterwards there was a resumption of Court balls and concerts, but her Majesty did not attend them.

The question of the Greek throne was decided early in the year. After Prince Alfred's refusal, it was offered to the Prince Consort's brother, Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who, however, after some consideration declined it. Eventually Prince William of Denmark, brother of the Princess of Wales, was chosen; and on 30th March he was proclaimed as George I, King of the Hellenes. In this connection, the British Government ceded to Greece the Ionian Islands, the protectorate over which had been assigned to Great Britain by the treaties of 1815. The cession was made in deference to the wishes of the inhabitants; but a policy which involved the abandonment of the important naval position of Corfu called forth protests in Parliament from the Conservative Opposition.

During the year a sanguinary revolt, provoked by the enforcement of a harsh system of conscription, raged in Poland, and elicited for the Poles much sympathy in Europe generally, and especially in France and England. But Prussia, under Bismarck, made no concealment of its sympathy with the Russian Government, and in many ways assisted the military measures taken by Russia to put down the insurgents. In June Lord Russell, acting with the general support of France and Austria, recommended the adoption by Russia of six propositions: 1. General and complete amnesty; 2. National representation of Poles; 3. A Polish administration; 4. Full liberty of conscience; 5. Use of Polish language; 6. A regular system of recruiting. The Emperor Alexander and Prince Gortchakoff, supported by public feeling in St. Petersburg and apparently in Russia generally, civilly but decidedly declined to accept the six points; but, though the Emperor Napoleon was anxious to

press the matter further, none of the three protesting Powers appealed to arms, Queen Victoria, in particular, having insisted throughout that in this case Great Britain would not be justified in going to war.

The divergence of the political action of Austria and Prussia shown in the Polish Question was emphasised by the refusal of the King of Prussia to attend a congress of German Sovereigns and Princes which was held at Frankfort in August, on the inspiration and under the presidency of the Emperor of Austria, to reform the constitution of the Bund. The claim of King William, fortified by Bismarck, his Minister, was to complete equality with Austria in Federal affairs; the Emperor Francis Joseph had hoped to confirm Austria's primacy in Germany. The Congress, owing to King William's absence, was abortive; and the well-meant efforts of Queen Victoria, who visited Germany in the autumn and saw both German potentates, failed to bring the Emperor and the King together. Shortly afterwards Bismarck first made public use of the tremendous phrase that the German question would have to be solved by "blood and iron."

Nevertheless, before the end of the year, Austria and Prussia were drawn into common action by the recrudescence of the Schleswig-Holstein question. Both of these duchies had been long governed by the Kings of Denmark as Dukes of Schleswig-Holstein, though Holstein was wholly, and Schleswig partially, German in population, and Holstein indeed was a state of the German Confederation. This historical but somewhat artificial arrangement, which had given rise to popular discontent both in Germany and in Holstein, and had led to a German invasion in the revolutionary year 1848, was formally ratified, though not guaranteed, by the Treaty of London in 1852. The signatories of the Treaty were Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sweden and Denmark; and several of the more important secondary German states gave in their adherence to it. But the German Confederation, the body which had taken the lead in agitating for the annexation of the duchies on the ground of nationality, neither signed nor approved. By confirming the rights over Schleswig-Holstein of the Danish Crown, which was about to pass through a female to a nephew of the then King, Frederick VII, the Treaty set aside the order of succession in the duchies, which was limited to male

heirs; and Denmark compensated the legitimate male heir, the Duke of Augustenburg, for the abandonment (for himself and his family) of his rights and estates, with a round sum of about £350,000. King Frederick in the same year definitely promised to establish for his kingdom and the duchies a constitutional system which should safeguard the rights of his German subjects. But none of the various experiments in constitution and government made by the Danish King and his Ministers during the following ten years satisfied either the German inhabitants of the duchies or public opinion in Germany; and strong protests were frequently made to Denmark by the various German Powers. In September 1862, Lord Russell took part in the controversy, suggesting, *inter alia*, that Schleswig should be given autonomy. Nothing came of his intervention; and on 30th March 1863 a Danish royal Patent was issued granting to Holstein (without consulting the Holstein states) a new form of government, but separating it entirely from Schleswig which was left under the Danish Rigsraad, and imposing additional financial burdens on both duchies. This was followed up in the late autumn by the adoption by the Rigsraad of a new constitution for Denmark and Schleswig, incorporating the duchy in the kingdom. The bill passed on 13th November, but never received the signature of King Frederick VII, who was on his deathbed. Two days later he died, and was succeeded by his nephew, King Christian IX (father of the Princess of Wales), who reluctantly signed on 18th November.

These events raised a storm throughout Germany; and, after the accession of King Christian, the demand for action against Denmark was universal. In Prussia, where the Government was still being carried on by King William and Bismarck in so arbitrary a fashion as to provoke protests from the Crown Prince to his father, all parties were agreed in this, and Austria was determined not to lag behind Prussia. Federal Execution was decreed by the Diet; Saxons and Hanoverians in December marched in and occupied Holstein without resistance by the Danes; and large forces of Austrians and Prussians gathered on the frontier behind them. The hereditary Prince of Augustenburg announced that he was not bound by his father's abandonment (for himself and "family") of the Augustenburg claims, on the ground that, as he was grown up at the time of the abandon-

ment, he had then ceased to belong to his father's " family " ; and he was enthusiastically supported by the minor States and by the Liberals throughout Germany, and welcomed by the Holsteiners, when he entered the duchy as the legitimate Duke and set up his Court at Kiel. But Prussia and Austria disregarded his claims, and refused to follow the Diet in denouncing the Treaty of London ; their demand, formulated by Bismarck, was for the revocation by Denmark of the new Constitution.

Queen Victoria sympathised with the German aspirations and with the claims of the hereditary Prince of Augustenburg, who was supported by the Duke of Coburg and was a friend of the Crown Princess. Public opinion in England, however, was on the side of the small Power, Denmark ; and Lord Palmerston went so far as to state at the close of the session of 1863 that, if the rights and independence of Denmark were attacked, those who made the attempt would find that " it would not be Denmark alone with which they would have to contend." But France, under the Emperor Napoleon, who had failed to induce England to take up arms for Poland, and who had just had a project of his for a European Congress to revise the Treaties of 1815 brought to nothing by Lord Russell's refusal to join, was rather disposed to bring pressure to bear on Denmark than on Germany. So was Russia ; and Denmark consented on 4th December to withdraw the Patent of 30th March. But she refused to revoke the new Constitution, though pressed to do so by Lord Wodehouse, who was sent on a special mission to Copenhagen by the British Government.

The Civil War in America continued throughout the year without decisive results. In Mexico the French Expedition captured Puebla on 18th May, and made a triumphal entry into the City of Mexico on 10th June. In July the Archduke Maximilian of Austria was proclaimed Emperor of Mexico ; but his acceptance had not been signified by the end of the year.

In Japan due reparation and satisfaction for the killing of one Englishman and serious assaults on others could not be obtained till Admiral Kuper and the British Fleet had bombarded, and to a large extent destroyed, the fortified town of Kagosima.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

CHAPTER II

1863

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, *2nd Jan.* 1862 [? 1863].—The Queen has just received Lord Palmerston's letter. She thinks that there is great force in the arguments he uses with respect to the throne of Greece being offered to her brother-in-law the Duke of Coburg; and she feels proud to see how high that dear family, which has given to this country the greatest Prince she ever had, and one of the wisest Sovereigns now in Europe, now stands!

The difficulties with regard to Prince Alfred's succession to that beautiful Duchy before he is of age are not certainly greater now than they would have been if unfortunately the Duke had been removed by death; and the position is a fine one and one in which our son may render great services to his beloved father's country, to Germany, and even to this country. But the Queen thinks nothing must be done till we hear from the King of the Belgians, who has undertaken to sound the Duke of Coburg, and the Queen sends a copy of a letter which Sir C. Phipps wrote by the Queen's orders to Lord Russell, and of a telegram she has received from the King to-day.

In all these questions the Queen feels *terribly* the loss of that great mind, that pure unselfish heart,

and of that support which made everything easy, and her sole anxiety now is to do nothing which her beloved Husband would not sanction or approve! She feels this doubly when his family and his children are concerned; but she feels sure that, if a similar proposal had been made to him as Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell have made to her, he would have acted as she now does. Were she not convinced of it, nothing would make her agree to it. . . .

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

[*Extract.*]

LAEKEN, *5th Jan.* 1863.— . . . Ernest need by no means resign his German dominions; the English nation submitted to have three Kings being Electors and not full Sovereigns of Hanover, and afterwards two who were independent Kings of Hanover.

The best manner would in that case be, that Ernest should name Alfred Prince Regent, as George IV was ten years for his poor father. I think that in many respects there would be no harm that Alfred should have early, useful, and serious occupation. . . . He might take of Coburg as much as he liked, but a constant residence would not be necessary, and his existence might be very agreeable. An early marriage would also in his case become more easily to be arranged than if he remained without any distinct position.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

OSBORNE, *6th January* 1863.

DEAREST UNCLE,— . . . There are some important points regarding Coburg, which I think have been overlooked.

1. Affie by the *Coburg Hausgesetz* is NOT *Regierungsfähig*, or of age, till 21, and he is now *18 and* ½.

2. By the same *Hausgesetz* it is particularly laid down that *no* Duke *of Coburg* is ever to be Sovereign of *another* country at the same time, *except* in the case of there being *no* other heir.

This was particularly agreed in, *in order* to *avoid* the *similarity* with *Hanover*. I remember all the discussions, and my beloved Angel *particularly* approved *that Article*.

This would therefore preclude Ernest from retaining the Duchies; Ernest must know this. But supposing this difficulty to be got over, I could never consent to Affie's being Regent unless he were *quite independent of Ernest*, and could thoroughly amend all the sad misgovernment which has gone on for so long, and which has made Ernest unfortunately very unpopular; for much of which he is *not* to blame. Affie is *too* young and above *all* too inexperienced to *start* without first preparing himself for the position; and, if he were *Duke*, a Regency would be established for him, during which time he would prepare himself for the duties which would devolve upon him when he is of age.

I don't think the *Greeks* (who are very touchy and fanciful) would like to have a King who retained another Sovereignty. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 21*st Jan.* 1863.—Whilst at dinner, the General's[1] letters arrived, which I did not like *at all*. Ernest will not hear of giving up the Duchies, or of Affie's being Regent, first of all contending that the Constitution did not prevent his being Duke and King simultaneously, which he afterwards admitted was not quite the case, but said the Constitution could be suspended, and General Grey suggested this being done, for a time only, adding that Uncle thought, were *I* to refuse this (which he is sure dearest Albert would not have objected to), the effect would be as if it were only *I* who had prevented the success of the plan! This is a most cruel and ungenerous position to have pushed me into, and hurts me deeply. Ernest's other questions and observations are all very

[1] General Grey, who had been sent by the Queen to King Leopold, in connection with the Coburg candidature.

good and reasonable. Sent for Sir C. Phipps and Dr. Becker, and read the letters and talked over all with them. They quite saw and felt the painful difficulty in which I had been placed, and that everything should be done to get me out of it. It was thought, therefore, best to consent to a temporary suspension, provided the Chambers consented, and the Duchies did not suffer thereby. Ernest is remaining at Brussels to await the answer, but unfortunately it could not be given as the messenger arrived nine hours later than he ought. In the midst of all this came a letter and draft from Lord Russell, acting upon the few words I had written to him yesterday, and proposing Ernest Leiningen[1] at once to the Greeks. I stopped this at once, and Sir C. Phipps wrote in my name to Lord Russell, sending him General Grey's letters.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

OSBORNE, 21*st Jan.* 1863.— . . . *How* good Grey *could* give you a good account of me is indeed marvellous, for I have been very unwell the whole time I have been home, and have hardly been a day free from headache and nervous pains, but this gentleman sees me *only* on business, and when I talk I get excited and flushed and very feverish, and *that* THEY call being well. Thank God ! General Grey says *you* look well, which is wonderful, with such *constant* suffering . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, 8*th Feb.* 1863.—The Queen has received Lord Russell's letter informing her of the formal offer of the Greek Crown to our son, Prince Alfred, and she approves of the intended answer. It should be couched in very civil terms, for it is a high compliment paid to our child, which the Queen *cannot* but

[1] The Queen's half-nephew, grandson of the Duchess of Kent by her first husband, the Prince of Leiningen.

believe is *chiefly* owing to the respect and admiration for our beloved, great Prince, and to the confidence entertained in the education which such a father must have given to his children. The Queen would wish some allusion to *this* fact to be introduced into the answer. The Queen much regrets that her brother, the Duke of Coburg, should have finally declined the Crown, but feared that the states would never consent to his retaining the Duchies and accepting a foreign Crown.

The Queen thinks now, as she did from the first, that personally Prince Nicholas of Nassau is the fittest candidate; but, supposing the Greeks did not wish to choose him as he is no relation to the Queen's family, and if the Emperor Napoleon still objects to him, might it not be as well to think of young Prince Augustus of Saxe-Coburg,[1] if he became a Greek, with a Regency? He is great-nephew to the King of the Belgians, a nephew to the Duc d'Aumale, and *called* nephew of the Duke of Coburg (who would have adopted him as his successor in Greece) and to the Queen and Prince Consort. But the Queen would strongly urge, in *any case*, *far greater secrecy* than has been maintained of late. *Who could* have betrayed *all* about Prince Leiningen, even details about his refusal, intended only for the Queen, which must have been very disagreeable, for Prince Leiningen, to have published?

Would Lord Russell impress, upon those to whom such questions are *confided*, the absolute necessity of great secrecy?

The Queen believes that the Duke of Coburg was much annoyed to hear that Prince Leiningen had been sounded almost at the same time, but that was never intended to transpire!

When will the message be sent to Parliament for the Prince of Wales's provision?

[1] Often referred to in the Queen's correspondence as "Gusty" or "Gusti," son of Prince Augustus of Saxe-Coburg and of Princess Clémentine, daughter of King Louis Philippe.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.*

OSBORNE, 10*th Feb.* 1863.—The Queen thanks Lord Granville for his letter.

She quite approves of the advice he gave the Prince of Wales, respecting the Literary Fund dinner, and she is at a loss to understand how any true friend of our son could advise him to preside at any such dinner; for he is far too young and inexperienced to take part in such Societies. Some years hence this might be different, but, till a few years have passed, the Queen thinks he should *upon no account* be put at the head of any of those Societies or Commissions, or preside at any of those scientific proceedings, in which his beloved great Father took so prominent a part. It would not be at all fair by the Prince of Wales.

With respect to his attendance in the House of Lords, the Queen thinks, that, whenever there is anything of interest or importance going on, and the Prince of Wales is in town, he should attend; but she is clearly of opinion that he should not do so regularly, for many reasons, which she can state verbally to Lord Granville.

The Prince of Wales will not be staying in town again till after his marriage, else the Queen would have been glad if Lord Granville had asked a small party of distinguished men to meet him.

The Queen thinks (and the Prince of Wales quite agrees in this) that with the exception of Lord Granville, Lord Palmerston, and possibly Lord Derby, and the three or four only great houses in London, Westminster House, Spencer House, Apsley House, the Prince and future Princess of Wales should not go out to dinners and parties, and not to *all* these the *same year.*

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th February* 1863.

DEAREST UNCLE,— . . . I wish to ask your opinion upon the following point before giving a final answer.

There is (as we well know) always a great bother about the rank of *Ambassadors*, and as I have *now* got *one* at Berlin, where so many Princes go, Lord Russell was anxious to define it, and I suggested AFTER *Reigning Dukes*, and the sons, brothers, and grandsons of *Sovereigns*. Now, Lord Russell wanted to make an alteration and restrict it to BEFORE Reigning Dukes, and saying *merely* Grand Dukes, excepting *where* the Reigning Duke was a *near* relation of the Ambassador's *own* Sovereign. What is *your* opinion? Would not a Reigning Duke go before the *Son* (not the Crown Prince or Princess Royal) of a Sovereign? Pray give me, as soon as you can, your opinion.

You say that work does me good; but the contrary is the fact *with me*, as I have to do it alone, and my Doctors are constantly urging upon me *rest*. My work and my worries are so totally different to any one else's: ordinary mechanical work may be good for people in great distress, but not *constant* anxiety, responsibility, and interruptions of every kind, where at every *turn* the heart is crushed and the wound is probed! I feel too visibly how much less able for work I am than I was. I was very unwell from agitation and overwork yesterday, added to my dreadful unbounded grief. Oh! for an hour only with my darling! I go every day to the beloved Mausoleum, where *all* is peace and quiet! Oh! for *me* to be *there soon*!

How I admire your *enterprise* in wishing to go to Greece as guardian to young Gusty! But *we* could *never spare you*. . . .

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, 16*th Feb.* 1863.— . . . The business of the Ambassadors was, I believe, brought forward in 1818. One of its objects had been to annoy the Duke of Orleans, much hated by Louis XVIII. It was then settled that Ambassadors should take the rank over

all Princes of Imperial or Royal Houses, not *sons* of the Sovereign that was or had been. For instance, myself having had the rank of King's grandson given me in 1816, I should abroad not have had the *pas* over an Ambassador. At home all Princes of the House had the *pas*, Gloucester and myself. I never had a dispute about it at Paris; when I came occasionally in contact with them, being on good terms with them, they invariably ceded me the rank from courtesy. At your own Court you can give the rank to all your near relatives belonging to Sovereign Houses, but they would not have it elsewhere. Leiningen could not, being a subject of some of the German Princes, have a rank as a Sovereign Prince. . . .

The Dukes being now as much *Sovereigns* as the Grand Dukes, they ought to be placed on the same line with Kings' sons. The rank of a Duke above a King's son is doubtful and ought to be regulated according to the near relationship with the Sovereign at whose Court he would [meet] a King's son; for instance, the Duke of Dessau could hardly expect to go before a King's son at a Court. If, as I mentioned, the Duke is a near relative of the Sovereign whose Ambassador he meets, that Ambassador ought to give way to him. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23*rd Feb.* 1863.—The Queen is terribly alarmed at the French language and proposals respecting Poland, and thinks *we* must, on NO account, let ourselves be dragged into what *may* be a war with Germany! The Queen shudders at the very thought of *what*, if we are not *very* careful, and very guarded in our expressions to France, we may find ourselves plunged into!

The proposals of France would inevitably bring us into collision with Prussia, and we should have a

French Army on the Rhine before we could turn round.

The Queen writes this to Lord Granville because Lord Palmerston held language upon the subject on Saturday, which much alarmed her. She *relies* upon the Cabinet preventing any imprudent step.

Ah! *now* how dreadful it is to feel *how* alone and unprotected we are without the beloved Prince to guide and help and protect the poor Queen. He would have written one of those many wise, admirable memorandums which, Lord Granville knows, so often *averted* great evils. The Queen, however, knows what he would and *did* feel and how he always dreaded this Polish question becoming some day *very* serious. She has written strongly to Lord Russell in this sense, but she relies on Lord Granville and the Cabinet supporting her, for she has never been more alarmed about anything since God took her whole life and happiness, her support and her protection, from her, than she is *now*.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

24*th Feb.* 1863.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to thank your Majesty for your Majesty's letter of yesterday. He is much grieved to hear that Lord Palmerston held language which alarmed your Majesty, about Poland and Prussia.

In the Cabinet on Saturday, Lord Russell appeared more anxious to move than Lord Palmerston; the latter held cautious language, and agreed that the French policy was dictated by a desire to conciliate Catholic support, and probably by ulterior plans of aggrandisement.

The situation is embarrassing if Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell go warmly into a course of interference.

The popular feeling is sure to be roused in favour of the Poles; the speech of Lord Ellenborough was cheered on both sides of the House of Lords, the most

conservative body in England. The conduct of the Prussian Government is suicidal,[1] and exposes the peace of Europe to the greatest dangers.

Your Majesty's Government ought to be extremely prudent. I believe the majority are inclined to be so, and Lord Granville ventures to hope that your Majesty will continue to insist on every step being submitted to the Cabinet before it is finally adopted.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *24th February* 1863.

BELOVED UNCLE,—I have to thank you for a dear, affectionate letter of the 20th. I am thankful to say our dear invalid at Malta[2] goes on favourably, and they hope to land him to-day. But it *is just* the same fever (typhoid) which took our Angel from us, and you may imagine my—indeed *our—anguish*! I live *all* thro' again, and with such strangely *mixed feelings*. I feel, while I pray so ardently that God may spare our darling boy, so like his beloved father, so clever and talented, and so excessively amiable, *I* can't imagine *how* anyone *can* recover from this dire fever if *he didn't*, and if dear Affie (as, *unberufen*, we may confidently trust he will) *should* recover, I think my *own* darling must return too! Oh! *how* troubles and anxieties persecute us, since that dreadful day when God took *all* from me!

Dear Affie has been charmed by having his Commission given to him, which preyed upon him as he had worked so hard for months and fell ill the very day the examination was to have come on! Till the latter part or end of this week, at the earliest, we cannot expect him to be considered *safe*, and this uncertainty is terribly trying.

Vicky arrived safely yesterday, and is looking really *very* pretty, so young and fresh and slim. I can but look at her, thinking how pleased her precious

[1] See Introductory Note.
[2] Prince Alfred was seriously ill at Malta.

Papa would have been, and *how* happy, how proud we might have been to have our two married daughters and our little grandson [1] with us, and to have received this *lovely Bride*! Now *all*, *all* is spoilt; a heavy black cloud overhangs *every thing now*, and turns pleasure into woe.

I hope you were pleased with your little great-grandnephew? He is a clever, dear, good little child, the great favourite of my beloved Angel! The sight of *all* these is *very very* trying to me.

Greece is still *Kingless*![2]

But Poland alarms me much more, as France wants to draw us into a dangerous move, the results of which may be *war* on *the Rhine*. I shall prevent this by *all* means in my power, but still it is *very dangerous* ground, and Prussia has *made such* a mess! She is really doing *all* to ruin herself. Vicky is in despair. . . .

Ever your devoted and wretched niece, V. R.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

London, 25*th Feb.* 1863.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to inform your Majesty of what passed to-day.

Lord Russell was nervous in introducing the subject of Poland to the Cabinet. He read the two French despatches about Russia and about Prussia. He produced his draft to Sir A. Buchanan,[3] prefacing that your Majesty had desired him to submit it to the Cabinet, as every step in this matter was of great importance. The Cabinet decided to omit everything that savoured of a demand from Prussia, leaving the despatch as a remonstrance against the

[1] Prince William of Prussia, afterwards the German Emperor William II.

[2] In the following month Prince William of Denmark, the Princess of Wales's second brother, who was only seventeen, was selected for the post. Queen Victoria doubted if he was not too young and inexperienced; but he had a successful reign of fifty years (1863–1913) as George I, King of the Hellenes.

[3] British Ambassador at Berlin.

policy of having made the convention. Lord Palmerston agreed that even a remonstrance might give a slight footing to French ambition, and that to make any demand which would probably be rejected would give the Emperor an important advantage.

Lord Russell read a despatch to Lord Cowley, which threw cold water upon any plan of joining France in an interference in Polish matters. It was approved by the Cabinet, and Lord Palmerston wished another despatch should be written to Lord Napier,[1] desiring him to advise the Emperor to give a constitution, and an amnesty to the Poles. This suggestion appeared to be shelved for the present.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

[*Extract.*]

94 PICCADILLY, 26*th Feb.* 1863.— . . . It has been suggested to Viscount Palmerston that, as Mr. Disraeli has, like Lord Derby, behaved extremely well about the Bill for the Prince of Wales's establishment, it might be a gracious and not unuseful thing, if your Majesty thought fit, that he, as Leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, might be invited to the Wedding as well as Lord Derby.

Lord Derby, it is true, would probably be invited as a Knight of the Garter, but the public at large will chiefly view him as the Conservative Leader in the House of Lords.[2]

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 2*nd March* 1863.—The Queen showed Lord Russell's letter to the Crown Princess, who had already spoken to her of the heartburnings of various Princes, on the subject of the Ambassadors;

[1] British Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

[2] Mr. Disraeli, who was greatly pleased by the invitation, was apparently quite unaware that it was not the spontaneous act of the Sovereign, but was given on the recommendation of the Minister. See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. iv, ch. 11.

and she says that Lord Russell's proposal, namely, that "her Ambassadors should conform to the rule, whatever it may be, which is established at the Court at which they are accredited, and to which other Ambassadors conform," is a very wise one, which must *satisfy* everyone. In this the Queen concurs. At *her* OWN Court, all ROYAL *Highnesses*, and all *reigning Sovereigns*, as well as *all very* near relations, like sons-in-law, or brothers-in-law, of the Sovereign, *ought* to go before Ambassadors.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *7th March* 1863.—Bustle and agitation everywhere. The preparations in London and all over the country quite wonderful, and people are very anxious it should be known that it is meant out of love and affection to us both! There were such good articles in *The Times* and *Globe* expressing this. Lord Clarendon yesterday so truly said that, when *I* married, I had only reigned two years, and dearest Albert was not known, and could not be, though everyone had heard the highest praise of his character and talents. Still, no one knew or dreamt of his becoming such a wonderful *great* man! There was great rejoicing at my marriage, but on this occasion, as on that of my dreadful loss, there are outbursts of depth of feeling, which are most touching and gratifying, testifying to the appreciation of *our* domestic life of twenty-two years, and all my beloved one did! "The people know," Lord Clarendon said, "that the young Princess had the Prince Consort's and your Majesty's approval, and this gives the country a great sense of security." Bertie came to wish me good-bye at half past 9, on his way to Gravesend, and was a good deal agitated. Dull and cold.

Heard of the landing and departure from Bricklayers' Arms. It began to rain soon after two. There was great doubt, indecision, and waiting, reminding me of the long *attente* for the Emperor's

arrival. People assembled in spite of the rain, and many were in a stand which had been erected outside the gates at the top of the hill. From quarter to 6, when we heard they had left the Great Western station, waited with all our daughters, Marie B[rabant], and little William, in my room, our four sons having gone to Slough to meet the train. Ernest C[oburg], Philip,[1] and Ernest L[einingen], with all the ladies and gentlemen, waited in the Corridor. I felt very low and nervous. The bells began to ring, and at length, in pouring rain and when it was getting dark, the carriages and escort were seen coming. All rushed down, excepting myself, Alice, Marie, and the two little children. I went down nearly to the bottom of the staircase, and Bertie appeared, leading dear Alix, looking like a rose. I embraced her warmly, and with her parents, Dagmar, the two sons, Thyra and Waldemar, went upstairs. Alix wore a grey dress, with a violet jacket, trimmed with fur, and a white bonnet. We all went into the White Drawing-room, where we remained a few minutes, and then Vicky took them over to their rooms. I went back to my room, desolate and sad. It seemed so dreadful that all this must take place, strangers arrive, and *he*, my beloved one, not be there! Vicky and Alice soon came to me and tried to cheer me, and kiss away my tears.

While I was waiting, Vicky returned and was sitting with me, dressed for dinner, when dear gentle Alix knocked at the door, peeped in, and came and knelt before me, with that sweet, loving expression which spoke volumes. I was much moved and kissed her again and again. She said the crowd in London had been quite fearful, and the enthusiasm very great, no end of decorations, etc., but the crush in the City had been quite alarming. Bertie came in for a moment whilst Alix was there. There was a family dinner, I dining alone with Katherine Bruce.

[1] Count of Flanders, second surviving son of King Leopold I, and father of the present King of the Belgians.

Dagmar came in with Louise, and we were struck by her pretty manners, just like Alix's. After dinner I went for half an hour to the White Drawing-room, where the whole party were assembled, which was a great trial for me. Sat with Princess Christian,[1] whose great deafness is a great misfortune. When I left, Alice and Lenchen went with me to my room. Felt so upset and wretched. Good accounts of dear Affie, who has begun to sit up a little.

10*th March*.—All is over and this (to me) most trying day is past, as a dream, for all seems like a dream now and leaves hardly any impression upon my poor mind and broken heart! Here I sit lonely and desolate, who so need love and tenderness, while our two daughters have each their loving husbands, and Bertie has taken his lovely, pure, sweet Bride to Osborne, such a jewel whom he is indeed lucky to have obtained. How I pray God may ever bless them! Oh! what I suffered in the Chapel, where all that was joy, pride, and happiness on January 25th, '58,[2] was repeated *without* the principal figure of all, the guardian angel of the family, being there. It was indescribable. At one moment, when I first heard the flourish of trumpets, which brought back to my mind my whole life of twenty years at *his* dear side, safe, proud, secure, and happy, I felt as if I should faint. Only by a violent effort could I succeed in mastering my emotion!

But now I must return to the beginning of the day. Directly after breakfast went over to the State Rooms, to embrace darling Alix, and give her my blessing. Her mother was much affected. Went with her into Alix's bedroom, where she was in her dressing-gown, and very *émotionnée*. Then I went back to my room and could see from my windows all the crowds of people assembling and arriving. Cold from nervousness and agitation, I dressed,

[1] Queen Alexandra's mother.

[2] When the Princess Royal was married in the Chapel Royal, St. James's.

wearing my weeds, but a silk gown with crape, a long veil to my cap, and, for the first time since December '61, the ribbon, star, and badge of the Order of the Garter, the latter being one my beloved one had worn, also the Victoria and Albert Order, on which I have had dearest Albert's head put above mine, and a brooch containing a miniature of him set round with diamonds, which I have worn ever since '40.

Drove with the Duchess of Sutherland[1] and Jane Churchill,[2] Katherine Bruce and Lord Methuen[3] following in another carriage. We started from the usual door, going on to the North Terrace, where we got out and went through a covered way down the small stairs, quite quietly, up into the Deanery. A Guard of Honour was mounted in the Quadrangle. Before I had left I had seen Lenchen in her pretty dress and train, lilac and white, and Louise and sweet baby, the same colours. Louise wore the pearls belonging to dearest Albert's mother, which he had always intended to give her. To see them go alone was dreadful. We waited a short while in the Deanery, and then went along a covered way prepared over the leads, which brought us into the Royal Closet. The divisions had been removed, and, when I stepped up to the window, the Chapel full of smartly dressed people, the Knights of the Garter in their robes, the waving banners, the beautiful window, altar, and reredos to my beloved one's memory, with the bells ringing outside, quite had the effect of a scene in a play.

Sat down feeling strange and bewildered. When the procession entered to the playing of the March in *Athalie*, and after Aunt Cambridge,[4] Mary,[5] and our

[1] Wife of the 2nd Duke; Mistress of the Robes.
[2] Wife of the 2nd Baron; Lady of the Bedchamber.
[3] The 2nd Baron; A.D.C. and afterwards Lord-in-Waiting to the Queen.
[4] The Duchess of Cambridge, mother of the late Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief.
[5] The Duchess of Cambridge's daughter, afterwards Duchess of Teck, and mother of Queen Mary.

The Marriage of Prince and Princess of Wales
at St. George's Windsor, 1863.
From a picture by W. P. Frith, R.A.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

five fatherless children (the three girls and two little boys) came into view, the latter without either parent (at Vicky's wedding they walked before, behind, and near me), I felt terribly overcome. I could not take my eyes off precious little baby,[1] with her golden hair and large nosegay, and smiled at her as she made a beautiful curtsey. Everyone bowed to me. I quite overlooked Alice coming in, looking extremely well in a violet dress, covered with her wedding lace, and a violet velvet train, from the shoulders trimmed with the miniver beloved Mama had worn at Vicky's wedding, Louis in the Garter robes leading her. Last came dear Vicky (leading little William), in a white satin dress trimmed with ermine, etc. When she caught sight of me, coming up the Choir, she made a very low curtsey, with an inexpressible look of love and respect, which had a most touching effect. There was a pause, and then the trumpets sounded again, and our boy, supported by Ernest C[oburg] and Fritz,[2] all in Garter robes, entered ; Bertie looking pale and nervous. He bowed to me, and during the long wait for his Bride kept constantly looking up at me, with an anxious, clinging look, which touched me much. At length she appeared, the band playing Handel's Processional March, with her eight Bridesmaids, looking very lovely. She was trembling and very pale. Dearest Albert's Chorale was sung, which affected me much, and then the service proceeded. When it was over, the young couple looked up at me, and I gave them an affectionate nod and kissed my hand to sweet Alix. They left together, immediately followed by *all* the others, Beethoven's Hallelujah Chorus (from *The Mount of Olives*) being played.

I went back to the Castle, getting out at the North Terrace, and went upstairs for a few minutes. Then hearing the couple were coming, I hastened down the Grand Staircase (the first time since my mis-

[1] Princess Beatrice.
[2] The Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor Frederick III.

fortune), where all the Beefeaters were drawn up. My *only* thought was that of welcoming *our children*, and I stepped out and embraced both dear Bertie and Alix most warmly, walking upstairs next to them and past several of the guests, who had already arrived. We went into the ante-room, next the Rubens Room, and here, soon after, Prince Christian, George,[1] Ernest C., and Fritz joined us. Went then with Alice over to the Dining-room, and afterwards to the White Drawing-room, where the young couple and *all* the others came, for the signing of the Register, which took a very long time. A family luncheon of thirty-eight followed, in the Dining-room, the Joinvilles and daughter, Aumales, and Nemours and Marguerite[2] having come for that. Edward Weimar[3] and the Maharajah[4] were also included. *I* lunched alone with baby. The two luncheons over, I went back to the White Drawing-room, the whole assemblage of Royalties being in the Green Drawing-room. Marguerite looked extremely well, and wonderful to say, though she is not really pretty, she reminded me much of her beloved mother.

Shortly afterwards went over with Lenchen, baby, etc., to the other side, where all the family were assembled, and Bertie soon appeared, then darling Alix, looking lovely in a white silk dress, lace shawl, and white bonnet with orange flowers. She was much agitated and affected, and was embraced by all her family, who were in tears; then I once more embraced her and Bertie, with feelings I cannot describe, and gave them my warmest blessing. When I saw them go down the crowded staircase, I hurried back to the Corridor, and from there saw the open carriage in which the young couple were seated, and they stopped for a moment under the window, Bertie standing up, and both looking up lovingly at me.

[1] The Duke of Cambridge.
[2] Orleans Princes and Princesses.
[3] Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar.
[4] Duleep Singh.

Then we hastened to my room, where I saw them drive off, through the enthusiastic crowds. It was so like *our* driving away twenty-three years ago *to* Windsor, amidst the same crowds and shouts of joy! Baby and Thyra were with me. Aunt Cambridge and Mary came in to wish me good-bye, and then I drove with Lenchen down to the Mausoleum, and prayed by that beloved resting-place, feeling soothed and calmed.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 13*th March* 1863.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

The Chancellor[1] was about to move the first reading of a Bill respecting the Crown Livings to which he presents. This Bill has received the consent of Lord Palmerston, but has not been as formally before the Cabinet as it ought to have been. Lord Granville, however, believes that the Bill is a good one, and one that will produce good results in increasing small livings.

Lord Granville thought it his duty to your Majesty to ask the Lord Chancellor whether he had taken your Majesty's pleasure respecting this Bill, and, finding that he had not done so, to ask him to postpone it. The Lord Chancellor at once agreed to do so, and requested Lord Shaftesbury to invite him to do so. The Lord Chancellor will send your Majesty the Bill, with the necessary explanations.

Lord Granville cannot write to your Majesty without saying how respectfully but deeply he sympathises with all your Majesty's contending feelings on Tuesday.

Sir Charles Phipps to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

Confidential. WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th March* 1863.

MY DEAR GRANVILLE,—The Queen has directed me to thank you, in her Majesty's name, for having

[1] Lord Westbury.

interposed to prevent a step upon the part of the Chancellor with which she would have been much displeased.

Without the knowledge or sanction of the Queen, he was about to introduce a Bill into Parliament which disposes of one-half of the Church patronage of the Crown, the presentation to which is vested in him ; and you know that her Majesty considers herself doubly bound now to watch jealously the rights of the Crown, and to take care that measures of this kind are not introduced without that previous reference which is due to the Sovereign.

Her Majesty cannot allow this Bill to be introduced as a matter of course, without the consideration and assent of the Cabinet, as it is an irrevocable measure of great importance dealing largely with the patronage of the Crown.

The Queen has desired me to send you a copy of the Chancellor's letter, and of her Majesty's answer. You will observe that, throughout the Chancellor's letter, it is nowhere mentioned that these are livings of the Crown.

The Queen trusts to you to look carefully to this Bill—which may be and probably is for a beneficial object—and to take care that the rights and name of the Crown are not passed over in it.

Sir Charles Phipps to Sir George Grey.

[*Copy.*]

Private. WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th March* 1863.

MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,—The Queen says that she could not receive Addresses officially, but that if she were assured that it would be considered entirely exceptional, and would not be drawn into a precedent, she might receive the Lord Mayor and a deputation from the City, not exceeding EIGHT persons in all.

The Queen would receive them informally, and to a certain degree privately, the Address should be handed to her, *not read*, and her Majesty would then

express verbally her sense of the unbounded loyalty which has been so generally expressed.

This would have the very best effect; the country would, I am sure, receive with enthusiasm this proof of the deep feeling the Queen entertains of their attachment, and it would show all her subjects how anxious she was to do, to the very utmost in her power, the duties of her station. The sympathy for her would, I am sure, exceed the gratitude.

Everybody will feel that it would be *impossible* for her Majesty to receive personally the Address from the University of Cambridge, and this, from the City of London, must therefore be a solitary exception.[1] Sincerely yours, C. B. PHIPPS.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

21*st March* 1863.— . . . There is another subject which was touched upon in the Cabinet, but which Viscount Palmerston feels he is somewhat stepping out of his province to advert to; but several members expressed their apprehension that the Prince of Wales is not at present provided with any person competent properly to regulate and control the expenses of his establishment, and that his affairs may thereby get into some degree of embarrassment. Those who are more personally acquainted with General Knollys than Viscount Palmerston is, seem to think that, although a most estimable and excellent man, he has not experience in duties of that kind and is not likely to be efficient in exercising the requisite control. One or two arrangements were suggested—either that General Knollys should be assisted by some person of method and ability like Colonel Biddulph, or that Lord Spencer, who is said to be an excellent man of business, might be requested and encouraged to take upon himself a general supervision of the expenses and arrangements of the Prince's establishment.

[1] On further representations from Sir George Grey, the Queen agreed to receive deputations from the Corporations of Edinburgh and Dublin, as well as from the City of London.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22*nd March* 1863.—The Queen has received, with some surprise, Lord Palmerston's notification of the opinion of the Cabinet upon a subject which, Lord Palmerston justly observes, it is stepping out of their province to advert to.

At the lamented death of General Bruce, the Queen herself selected General Knollys as the person in whom, beyond all others, she (and, she knew, the beloved Prince just the same) could feel confidence, as an adviser of her Son, the Prince of Wales, and she has not the slightest fear as to his competency to conduct his affairs with advantage to the young Prince.

The question of the Officer who is to superintend the Household and manage the finances of the Prince of Wales does not appear to be one upon which the Cabinet, had the Queen sought their opinion, would have been very well qualified to have formed a judgment, as she is not aware that any of its members can be cognisant of the arrangements of General Knollys, with which the Queen is perfectly satisfied; and she is equally convinced that that Officer is fully competent properly to regulate and control the expenses of the Prince of Wales.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 24*th March* 1863.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has received your Majesty's communication of the 22nd, with reference to what he had said on the subject of the Household arrangements of the Prince of Wales. Viscount Palmerston by no means intended to submit to your Majesty any advice from the Cabinet upon that matter, as the Cabinet do not consider themselves responsible for such arrangements; but Viscount Palmerston thinks that he is only performing his duty towards your Majesty, by bringing to your Majesty's knowledge anything with which

he may have become acquainted, which concerns the interests of your Majesty's Royal family. That which he took the liberty of stating in his former communication was said in conversation by more than one member of the Cabinet, and apparently from some knowledge of circumstances; and Viscount Palmerston would have deemed himself much to blame if he had withheld from your Majesty that which at some future time he might have reproached himself with not having communicated to your Majesty. The opinions expressed may be well or ill founded, but at all events it seemed to Viscount Palmerston right and useful that your Majesty should know them.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *24th March* 1863.

BELOVED UNCLE,—Accept my warmest thanks for your dear and kind letter of the 19th. I trust that Langenbeck[1] will finally, after *all*, succeed.

Good dear Marie we saw depart with real regret, for she is so dear and good, so affectionately attached to my *own* darling, which was very sincerely returned by him, and I could not but be *deeply* touched to see that, even altered and sad and dull as our poor house now is, she seemed to like so much to be here. I trust she will tell you *all*. We expect the young couple back from Town (where they went on Friday) to-day, after parting with her parents, which will be a painful moment. We are much pleased with the marked improvement which we have already observed in Bertie, and he seems really *very* happy. . . .

Prussia is indeed in a sad state, and the King makes one quite miserable, for he is bent on self-ruin. Sorry as one would be for that, that *alone* would *not* be a lasting misfortune; but if he ruins the position of his son and grandchildren, that would be dreadful. I am sure that if my Angel were still *on earth*, he never would have *gone* so far! I will communicate your

[1] King Leopold's doctor.

wise views to Vicky, who is wretched about everything and writes to me: "Affairs are in such a mess as never was; the King is amiable and kind as ever, and seems in happy unconsciousness of the real dangers which surround us, whilst nervously apprehensive of imaginary ones. But on the whole he is in the best of spirits, and gay, compared to all others!"

Accept my best wishes for dear good Philip's birthday. I have written to him in *very strong terms* about his marrying,[1] and talked to him also in that sense. I love him dearly, but I own, I don't think him improved in *essential* qualities; he laughs and ridicules everyone, and wishes to live *only for himself*. Ask him to show you my letter; I have told him I shall *not* drop the subject, and that he owed it to you, to the country, and to himself, to marry. *You* should insist, and try and get the country to express their anxiety about it. There is but little Leopold,[2] and I doubt Leopold's having more children. Alice has also spoken strongly about it to him. You should allow him to *choose*, but tell him that it *is* a necessity.

God bless and protect you. Ever your devoted and unhappy niece, V. R.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *7th April* 1863.—The Queen doubts whether the tone of this despatch is calculated to effect the object which Lord Russell has in view.

It seems too abrupt and peremptory in the commencement, to be unnecessarily offensive in its allusions to the past government of Poland by Russia, and to imply, in the claim of a right of interference by the English Government, under the Treaty of Vienna, "in any way Her Majesty may think proper," a threat which Russia will well know there is no intention of acting upon.

[1] He eventually married Princess Marie of Hohenzollern, and became the father of King Albert of Belgium.

[2] Son of Leopold II, who died young.

This seems to the Queen to be too important a matter to be decided without previous consultation with the Cabinet, to which, when Lord Russell submits this draft, she wishes him also to communicate her remarks.

The Queen has marked the passages in the draft which appear to her to require some change.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

Pembroke Lodge, 8*th April* 1863.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty: after communicating with Lord Palmerston, he submits an amended draft of the despatch to Lord Napier, to your Majesty.

The Cabinet is dispersed; the Ministers are most of them enjoying the remains of their holidays.

The Austrian and French despatches have been ready, the Austrian five or six, the French two days, and there will appear something mysterious if the English despatch is delayed. For these reasons Lord Russell earnestly asks for your Majesty's judgment upon the present draft, which has been amended in the sense your Majesty has been pleased to point out.

The messenger will wait your Majesty's pleasure. Lord Russell by no means wishes to shorten the time for deliberating on so grave a subject.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

Windsor Castle, 28*th April* 1863.—The Queen has been deeply gratified by the great unanimity on the occasion of the Vote for the Memorial to her beloved, great Husband; and by Lord Palmerston's kind and feeling speech and the terms in which he has spoken of that bright, spotless, and great character.

The Queen sends Lord Palmerston the accompanying Book[1] as a mark of her sense of the manner in which he proposed the Memorial.

[1] No doubt the same book that her Majesty gave Mr. Disraeli on the same occasion (see *Life of Disraeli*, vol. iv, ch. 11)—the Speeches of the Prince Consort.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

[*Extract.*]

OSBORNE, 12*th May* 1863.— . . . To show how nervous and weak I am, I made the effort to go and visit the truly magnificent Military Hospital at Netley, in which my Angel took such immense interest and constantly went to see; I felt it a duty, and I don't regret it; it was the first time I had gone anywhere, where Officers, etc. (tho' it was as private as possible) accompanied me! I had *never* in *my life* gone to a Hospital *before* I visited them with *him* during the War, and to walk alone, and see those poor men, some dying—without Albert—was dreadful! I went through it all, but I have been ill ever since—bad headaches—restless nights, and an increase of despair! It shows *how shattered* I am! . . .

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 17*th May* 1863.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he has had the honour to receive your Majesty's message by General Grey.

Your Majesty's Ministers have no wish or intention to go to war for Poland. The despatch agreed to yesterday at the Cabinet is very far from intimating any view of the kind. But a declaration that they would in no case make war might give a licence to the violence and murdering habits of the Russian soldiery, which would be very grievous, and might kindle a war spirit in this country.

At the present moment the contest in Poland does not appear to be a very bloody one, and the parties in America seem fully occupied in their own sanguinary contest, so that the aspect of affairs is more pacific than it was.

In the midst of these arduous matters Lord Ellenborough proposes to go to war with Germany to prevent a Federal Execution in Holstein, and Lord

Derby gives him a good deal of support. Surely we need not do more than express to Austria and Prussia our intention to respect, and if necessary, maintain, the independence and integrity of Denmark. . . .

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

BALMORAL, 18*th May* 1863.— . . . Alice's departure is a *great* loss and adds to my loneliness and desolation! She is a most dear, good child, and there is *not* a thing I cannot tell her; she knows everything and is the best element one can have in the family! Louis, too, is *quite* excellent; *un cœur d'or*. The baby a great love. The good children have no duties at present to perform at home, no house to live in, and ought to be as much with me as possible. A married daughter *I* MUST have living with me, and must *not* be left constantly to look about for help, and to have to make shift for the day, which is too dreadful! I intend (and she wishes it herself) to look out in a year or two (for till nineteen or twenty I don't intend *she* should marry) for a young, sensible Prince, for Lenchen to marry, who can during MY *lifetime* make my house his *principal* home. Lenchen is so useful, and her whole character so well adapted to live in the house, that (unless Alice lived constantly with me, which she won't) I could *not* give her up, without *sinking* under the *weight* of my desolation. A sufficient fortune to live independently if I died, and plenty of good sense and high moral worth are the only necessary requisites. He need not belong to a reigning house. . . .

Poland still occupies people's minds very much, and is a cause for anxiety, but I think *we* shall be *quite* prudent.

Most earnestly do I hope that the new English surgeon, Mr. Thompson,[1] may give you permanent relief. . . .

[1] Afterwards well known as Sir Henry Thompson.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

BALMORAL, 19*th May* 1863.—The Queen has to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Russell's letter.

Her object, in the message she sent by General Grey, was to impress on her Government the importance of giving their just weight to the observations of Lord Napier, both as to the propriety of relieving Russia from the fear she seemed to entertain of war being contemplated by England, and as to the difficult position in which the Russian Government was placed, with regard to Poland, by the strong anti-Polish feeling in the rest of the Empire.

The Queen regrets the tone taken by Lord Ellenborough, and the support given to him by Lord Derby. She does not believe any attack is intended upon either the integrity or independence of Denmark; and neither Prussia nor Austria seem inclined to give effect to the threatened Federal Execution, but, if they do, it will be the fault of Denmark, and not of Germany.

The Queen trusts that her Government will in no way alter the line of conduct wisely adopted in Lord Russell's much-attacked despatch.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] SCHLOBITTEN, 8*th June* 1863.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—I can only write very few words, as I have but little time, and my head is so full of what is going on, that I find it difficult to collect my ideas.

I told you, on the 5th, that Fritz had written twice to the King, once, warning him of the consequences that would ensue, if the constitution was falsely interpreted in order to take away the liberty of the press. The King did it all the same, and answered Fritz a very angry letter.

Fritz then sent his protest to Bismarck on the 4th, saying he wished to have an answer immediately. *Bismarck has not answered.*

Fritz wrote on the 5th to the King, as I told you. On the same day Mr. de Winter, the Oberbürgermeister of Danzig, a great friend of ours, a worthy and excellent man, as clever as liberal-minded, told Fritz he would make him a speech at the Rathaus, and begged Fritz to answer him.

I did *all I could* to induce Fritz to do so, knowing how necessary it was that he should *once* express his sentiments openly and disclaim having any part in the last measures of the Government. He did so accordingly in very mild and measured terms—you will have no doubt seen it in the newspapers. To this the King answered Fritz a furious letter, treating him quite like a little child; telling him instantly to retract in the newspapers the words he had spoken at Danzig, charging him with disobedience, etc., and telling him that if he said one other word of the kind he would instantly recall him and take his place in the Army and the Council from him.

Fritz and I sat up till one last night, writing the answer, which Captain von Luccadon has taken to Berlin this morning, and in which Fritz says that he is almost broken-hearted at causing his father so much pain, but that he could *not* retract the words spoken to Winter at Danzig; that he had always hoped the King's Government would not act in a way which should force him to put himself in direct opposition to the King; but now it had come to that, and he (Fritz) would stand by his opinions. He felt that under such circumstances it would be impossible for him to retain any office military or civil, and he laid both at the feet of the King. As he felt that his presence must be disagreeable to the King, he begged him to name a place, or allow us to select one, where he could live in perfect retirement and not mix in politics.

What the upshot of this will be, heaven knows. Fritz has done his duty and has nothing to reproach himself with. But he is in a state of perfect misery, and in consequence not at all well. I hope you will

make his conduct known to your Ministers, and to all our friends in England. We feel dreadfully alone, having not a soul from whom to ask advice. But Fritz's course of duty is so plain and straightforward, that it requires no explaining or advising.

How unhappy I am to see him so worried, I cannot say; but I shall stand by him as is my duty, and advise him to do his in the face of all the Kings and Emperors of the whole world.

A year of silence and self-denial has brought Fritz no other fruits than that of being considered weak and helpless. The Conservatives fancy he is in *Duncker's*[1] hands, and that *he* dictates his every step. The Liberals think he is not sincerely one of them, and those few who do think it, fancy he has not the courage to avow it. He has now given them an opportunity of judging of his way of thinking, and consequently will now again be passive and silent till better days come. The way in which the Government behave, and the way in which they have treated Fritz, rouse my every feeling of *independence*. Thank God, I was born in England, where people are not slaves, and too good to allow themselves to be treated as such.

I hope our nation here will soon prove that we come of the same forefathers, and strive for their own lawful independence, to which they have been too long callous.—VICTORIA.

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

[*Undated.*]—General Grey has shown the enclosed[2] to Lord Russell, who is much pleased with it, and thanks your Majesty much for having let him see it. Nothing, he thinks, can be more judicious than the course the Crown Prince has adopted, and the hope of any good depends on his firm perseverance in it. With the Crown Princess by his side, there seems no fear of his not being firm.

[1] A German Liberal politician and historical scholar of much note.
[2] The preceding letter from the Crown Princess of Prussia.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 10*th June* 1863.—The Queen cannot help writing a few lines to Lord Derby, as she is a good deal alarmed by all she hears of the opposition that is likely to be made to the vote [1] next Monday, particularly by members of his party. It is not in any way a political question, and Lord Derby knows how much it depends on this vote whether we are to see any progress made towards the accomplishment of her beloved husband's great plans or not.

The Queen knows how thoroughly she can depend on Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli doing all in their power to promote the success of the bill, but her anxiety upon the subject is so great that she cannot help writing to Lord Derby to express it.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, 11*th June* 1863.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty to your Majesty, in acknowledging your Majesty's gracious note of this morning, cannot but express his regret that the interest felt by your Majesty in the proposed transfer of the late Exhibition Buildings should not have been earlier and more generally made known. Even at the last meeting of the Commissioners of 1851, to confirm the agreement made on their part by the Finance Committee with your Majesty's Government, no reference was made to any wish of your Majesty's upon the subject; and the transfer was discussed and sanctioned chiefly, if not entirely, on financial considerations. Indeed the public impression has been that the arrangement has been concluded in great measure on account of the difficulty which would be experienced in the removal of the building, or its disposal in any other way, rather than with any distinct reference to its future application. Lord Derby cannot deny that he has heard strong objec-

[1] For the purchase by the State of both the site and the buildings of the Exhibition of 1862 at South Kensington.

tions urged to the proposed outlay, on the part of many independent Members on both sides of the House. There is not the slightest ground for supposing that the question will be viewed in any Party light; but the danger is that, as has occasionally happened before, the influence of the Leaders on both sides combined may not be sufficient to overcome the reluctance of the House in general to commit themselves to an amount of expenditure, the ultimate extent of which they can hardly foresee or estimate, and for an object which has not been very clearly and distinctly set before them.

Lord Derby, however, will have an opportunity of seeing Mr. Disraeli to-day; and, being informed of the deep interest which your Majesty takes in the success of the Vote, will concert with him the best means of obviating the risk of its rejection, at all events so far as may depend upon the Conservative Members of Parliament.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 15*th June* 1863.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to state that he proposed this afternoon to the House of Commons the whole measure for the purchase of the land at Kensington, the purchase of the building, and the adaptation of that building to the purposes for which it will be wanted; but he stated that if the first vote for the purchase of the land was agreed to, he would put off to another day the other two votes. This arrangement was thought to be the best, because, though there was known to be a favourable disposition for the purchase of the land, the advantage of buying the building has not as yet been sufficiently understood. Mr. Gregory opposed the proposal, but his objections were mainly directed rather against the building than against the land. Mr. Gladstone answered Mr. Gregory, Sir John Pakington supported the proposal, and after a short explanation from Mr. Gladstone, and some few remarks from

Mr. Ayrton and Lord Elcho, the House divided and the vote for the land was carried by the large majority mentioned by Viscount Palmerston in his telegram. It was remarked that Mr. Disraeli, though he had expressed great interest in favour of the measure, was not in the House, and did not appear to vote for it.

The Votes for the purchase and adaptation of the building are fixed for Thursday week, and it will be easy to show that such an arrangement will be more economical than allowing the building to be pulled down, and erecting other buildings on the ground. . . .

Viscount Palmerston was much concerned to find your Majesty suffering yesterday from headache; but he trusts that your Majesty has shaken it off to-day.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16*th June* 1863.

MY BELOVED UNCLE,—You will, I trust, excuse me if my letter is short and ill-written, but since Dr. Jenner wrote to you in my name, I have been so unwell, the result of over-exertion this last week, that I can hardly hold my pen for shaking, and hardly know what I am about. I was so *unwell* on *Sunday*, from *violent* nervous headache and *complete* prostration, that I nearly fainted, and Clark and Jenner both say that, with the extreme state of weakness which I am in, if I did faint I might *not* come back *to life*. My weakness has *increased* to that extent within the last two months, as to make all my good doctors anxious. It is *all* the result of overwork, over-anxiety, and the weight of responsibility and *constant* SORROW and *craving* and yearning for the ONE absorbing object of my love, and the *one only* Being who could *quiet* and *calm* me; I feel like a poor hunted hare, like a child that has lost its mother, and *so* lost, so frightened and helpless.

I OWN, beloved Uncle, that I think my life will *end more* rapidly than any of you think; for *myself* this would be the *greatest, greatest* blessing; but for the

poor children I feel a *few* years more would be desirable; and for the country, I *own*, it alarms me still more. . . .

If you will ask Jenner and Clark, they will tell you (and my poor handwriting will also) what a state of nervousness I am in, and *how very* important it is that I should have *no* excitement, *no* agitation, IF I am to live on!

Mr. Thompson's success is a cause of *the greatest possible* satisfaction and *thankfulness* to me, and to *many* thousands! May God in His mercy bless and protect you!

I *cannot* tell you sufficiently *what* a support and comfort good excellent General Grey is to me; his discretion, sense, and courage make him *invaluable*.

The Bruces are all much distressed at the death of Lord Elgin's third son, a beautiful boy of ten years, and full of promise: it will almost *kill* poor Lady Elgin, who is in India with her husband.

The Queen of P[russia][1] I shall *really* be glad to see, as she IS *a very dear* friend of ours: and she is *so* clever.

Philip *must* speak the truth to Bertie, as Ernest L[einingen] and Victor do, for he (B.) only loves and respects those who speak the truth to him. And how few do!

I must end. Ever your devoted and unhappy niece, V. R.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

KÖNIGSBERG, 21*st June* 1863.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—The messenger has just arrived, bringing your dear letter, and the one from General Grey; allow me to answer them both together.

We are wellnigh worn out with mental fatigue, anxiety, excitement of the most painful kind. I was ill all yesterday, and feel still very confused!

I send you *all the papers* that you may see what Fritz has done, said, and written!

[1] She arrived at Windsor Castle on 18th June.

He has done all he could. He has, for the first time in his life, taken up a position decidedly in opposition to his father. His speech in Danzig was intended to convey in a clear and *unzweideutig* way to the hearers, that he had *nothing* to do with the unconstitutional acts of the Government—that he was not even aware of their being in contemplation! The effect produced on those fifty or sixty who heard it was exactly the one desired, but I know there are many who will not agree. *Many* of the Liberals pick holes in it, but as many I have heard praise it unconditionally. The Conservatives are in a state of indignation and alarm! the King very angry! We are in this critical position without a secretary, without a single person to give advice, to write for us, or to help us; whatever we do one way or the other is abused.

After having read all these papers, you will understand that Fritz can do no more than what he has done! My last letter will explain much of what has happened. We are surrounded with spies, who watch all we do, and most likely report all to Berlin, in a sense to checkmate everything we do.

The Liberal papers are forbidden, so we do not even know what is going on. Fritz's speech was much praised by newspapers in Frankfort-on-the-Main. As for coming to you, dear Mama, you are too kind to say so; at present we can decide nothing, as we have received no answer from the King; our fate is not settled. If it becomes necessary for us to leave the country, I can hardly say how grateful we shall be to be once again with you, in that blessed country of peace and happiness!

Now good-bye, my dearest Mama, I kiss your hands. I am sure you will think of me in all this trouble. I do not mind any difficulties so long as they end well for Fritz; indeed I enjoy a pitched battle (when it comes to it) exceedingly. Fritz feels his courage rise in every emergency; only the thought of his *father* makes him feel powerless. "Think if it was *your*

father," he says to me, "would you like to disobey him and make him unhappy?" Ever your most dutiful and devoted daughter, VICTORIA.

I find that I cannot send you all the papers I intended, as they are either with Stockmar, Fritz of Baden, or Prince Hohenzollern, but we send you here all we have by us. Luccadon has just returned. The King does not accept Fritz's resignation, and wishes us to continue our privacy, forbidding Fritz, however, to say another word openly. We shall therefore carry out our plan of travelling here till the 1st of July, when we shall go to the Isle of Rügen. In August I hope to see you, dear Mama, for a day or two; in September are the Manœuvres and a Statistical Congress, which Fritz is to open: therefore I fear Scotland will be quite impossible. Oh dear! what a sad wretched time we have of it, and no help, no support, surrounded with people determined to put an insurmountable barrier to all we wish to do in a liberal sense, and tormenting the very life out of one! Please send back the enclosed as soon as you can. As soon as the rest of the papers are returned us, Fritz will send them you.

M. de Bismarck *has not even* answered Fritz's letter, and the King has forbidden him to give it to the rest of the Ministers!

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22*nd June* 1863.—After dinner the Queen[1] read me a letter, or, rather more, Memorandum, which the poor King had written and given her with instructions as to what language she should hold and what she should say about his Government. It goes to show how sadly he deceives himself, his natural honesty and conscientiousness making it impossible for him to understand how dangerous is the course he is pursuing. This distresses and disheartens the poor Queen terribly, but she behaves so beautifully, never complaining to anyone about

[1] Of Prussia.

the King, whom she seeks to excuse and pities. But she is terribly unhappy, feeling she can be of no use to him, and is often very unkindly treated. It is most sad.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26*th June* 1863.—The Queen returns Lord Cowley's despatch and telegram, and the draft to Lord Cowley communicating the despatch from M. Drouyn de Lhuys to Baron Gros.[1]

The Emperor evidently thinks the time is come for taking another step in advance towards the accomplishment of his own objects, by endeavouring to place us in a position in which we should not be able to object to any measures to which he may choose to resort, on the possible and even probable failure of the present negotiations. The Queen therefore entirely approves of Lord Russell's refusal to enter into the proposed new engagement. She would, however, have been glad if, to the observation that this was not the fitting time for it, Lord Russell had added, that her Government was above all things determined not to agree to *any* engagement which pointed, as the new French proposition evidently does, towards eventual war.

The Queen takes for granted that the Cabinet has been made aware of the new shape which this question is taking, and that no step will be taken without having received their careful consideration.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

27*th June* 1863.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to state what occurred in respect to the late overture from France.

On receiving it from Baron Gros, he immediately circulated the despatch to the members of the Cabinet,

[1] Proposing that an identic note should be sent to Russia by Great Britain, France, and Austria, on the Polish question—a step which would almost inevitably have led to war.

saying he proposed to decline the proposal, and asking those who agreed with him to sign their names—nearly all, including Lord Palmerston, signed. On Wednesday last he read his draft to the Cabinet, who agreed to it as it stands. He had added some remarks as to the difficulty of agreeing to any proposals which tended to war, but as the Cabinet thought those remarks were capable of being misconstrued as favourable to war, he omitted them.

The Cabinet agreed with Lord Russell that it was impossible to say that in no case would we make war. Such a declaration would encourage the Russian party, which, according to Colonel Heaton, is endeavouring to exterminate the Poles in Lithuania. Such an attempt in the Kingdom of Poland would rouse all Europe.

Count André Zamoyski, a man of high character, says that Prince Gortchakoff told him he would make Poland *un monceau de cendres et de cadavres*. Prince Gortchakoff denies the truth of this story, but it too much resembles the spirit of Russian treatment of Poland to be entirely disbelieved.

Lord Russell hopes to have the honour of an audience of your Majesty on Monday.

Mr. Disraeli to General Grey.

One o'clock, Friday morning [*3rd July* 1863].

My dear General,—Before I go to bed—A crushing defeat![1] The House was really mad or drunk.

It began badly. Gladstone made much too clever a speech—sarcastic instead of conciliatory—and sent them all to dinner in a bad humour.

At half past ten, hearing that affairs looked badly, I put up Northcote with an amendment, which would have reduced the vote £25,000 and bought the building, and then referred the matter to a Committee. But they would not hear him after ten minutes.

[1] On the vote, which was rejected by 287 to 121, for the purchase of the Exhibition buildings at South Kensington. The scene is graphically described by Lord Malmesbury in the *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*.

The legions returned from dinner, and then a din quite demoniac. I tried to stem the tide and stay the storm, but in vain. Then there was a regular panic on both sides of the House.

I sent to Gladstone not to divide—but he insisted. I, of course, supported him with a few aides-de-camp. My marshals even deserted me.

'Tis most vexatious—I kept away nearly 70 men. However, we have got the land! That's something, and we may yet accomplish all we wish—and more than we ever hoped. Yours, D.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

Windsor Castle, *3rd July* 1863.—The Queen much regrets the Vote of last night; and fears Lord Palmerston's unavoidable absence had much to do with it. However, we have got the *land* and we must *now not lose* a moment in preparing plans and estimates for the necessary buildings *to replace* the present Exhibition one, for the purposes contemplated. As it is, the *folly* of last night will by-and-by be repented of.

The Queen hopes Lord Palmerston is better.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 Piccadilly, *3rd July* 1863.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and, in answer to your Majesty's gracious enquiry, is glad to say that he is getting well rapidly and hopes to be in the House of Commons on Monday.

The vote of the House of Commons last night was certainly unexpected as regards the amount of the majority, but not as to the side on which a majority would be found; and although Viscount Palmerston is led to think that, if he had been there to manage the debate and propose the vote, the majority against the proposal would have been much smaller, yet he cannot flatter himself that he could have succeeded

in carrying it. No doubt Mr. Gladstone was unfortunate in the conception and in the execution of his speech; and in his extreme eagerness on the subject, and from his entire conviction of the advantageous nature of the proposed arrangement, he seems to have forgotten that a man, who wants to win over to his way of thinking an adverse majority, is not likely to attain his end by telling those who differ from him that they are wrong in every point—that the authorities they rely upon are ignorant or interested men; and that he and they who agree with him are the only people who know anything of the matter. The fact is that there has been growing up for some time past a strong prejudice against the building, and this from a variety and combination of causes. In the first place, it must be confessed that, although the building was well adapted to the temporary purposes for which it was constructed, it is not in architectural style, in beauty, or in internal distribution and arrangement, such as would be chosen for the permanent purposes which are now to be provided for. Then a good deal of vulgar jealousy has been directed against the persons who have locally been employed in the management and care of the building. Then there are a few narrow-minded men in the House of Commons, who take a pride in opposing what is recommended from quarters above them. But the great army of opponents consisted of artists and architects who had had little or no share in planning and executing the building, and who, of course, expect that their body corporate will obtain employment and reap honour and fame from the erection of the buildings to be substituted for the present one.

However, be all this as it may, the fact must be accepted and be dealt with as it is. The House of Commons has determined by an overwhelming majority, consisting of men of all political parties, that the present building shall be removed. But some considerable time will, it seems, be required to effect

the removal, certainly not less than a twelvemonth, and there need be no hurry in preparing plans for the buildings to be put up afterwards. On the contrary, it would be better to let the present excitement cool down, and to allow Members to reflect upon the mistake, in a pecuniary point of view, which they have made.

The Members of the House just now are upon this matter like an army that has taken a town by storm; they have broken loose from all control, and the only thing to do is what a prudent General in such a case does with his troops, try to lead them away out of it. By next year the Government will have had time to consider the matter more fully, to determine exactly what is the smallest amount of immediate wants, and what the best and most reasonable way of providing for them, and by that time probably some progress will have been made in clearing away the present building.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

OSBORNE, *9th July* 1863.

MY DEAREST BELOVED UNCLE,—How deeply will you mourn for our dearest, wisest, *best*, and oldest friend—*Stockmar*.[1] Last night I felt sure that the end was near at hand, but the loss is *totally irreparable*! To him *my* Angel looked for advice and support, and *his* troubles and anxieties certainly greatly increased after Stockmar left! Again *and again* he longed for *Stockmar*; . . . and I may truly say that *both* my Angel's and dear Stockmar's lives would have been prolonged if the latter had continued his visits to England regularly. From never writing hardly, and *not* knowing the reasons and causes for things, he took a one-sided view of important questions, and would not listen to the other side. But when one saw him and talked to him, his fairness and

[1] He died at Coburg on July 9th.

wisdom, and *wonderful* sense always came out again. And *so* tender and loving.

Oh! beloved Uncle! *now* that my darling is *no* longer with us, I clung more and more ever to him[1] and looked to him for advice and assistance in so many, many ways, and I can't *at all* REALISE *what* this loss will be, or at *all believe* it. It is *too* dreadful! . . .

One thought alone sustains me—it is the blessed one of the reunion of those two *blessed* spirits who loved each other so dearly, and understood each other so well, for dear old Stockmar said to me last year, looking at my darling's picture: "I shall be so glad to see him again, my dear good Prince." And *now they are together*—looking upon us poor mortals struggling on alone in a most imperfect and sad world—"with larger other eyes than ours, making allowance for us all," as Tennyson says. They see the end of what seems interminable to us! God's will be done!

I can't write more to-day except to thank you for your dear letter of the 7th received yesterday, with the very gratifying news of your *recovery*, which I trust dear Stockmar still knew. My first impulse would be to give up going to Coburg, but then I *feel* I should like to see poor Mme de Stockmar. I shall not be *in* the town, and I am to see one or two *Princesses* for *Affie*, whose marriage ought to be as early as his brother's.

God bless and protect you, and pity me in my ever-increasing anguish and desolation. Ever your devoted and most unhappy niece, V. R.

We confided *everything* to *Stockmar*, and he was adored in this house.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 15*th July* 1863.—At 1, I went into the Council Room with all the children, the ladies, and Sir C. Phipps and Sir T. Biddulph, the Duke of

[1] Baron Stockmar.

Newcastle being already in the room. There, standing at the end, were drawn up the 13 Chiefs [1] and the 3 women, two of them wives of two of the Chiefs. They were half in native, half in European dress. The women wore silk petticoats with their strange cloaks of matting, and feathers in their hair. The men also had cloaks, some skins thrown over them, carrying spears and hatchets, and feathers stuck in their hair. The greater number of the men were much tattooed, and the women, on their mouths. All had fine eyes and beautiful glossy black hair, but not good features, except three of the men who were tall and good-looking. They all kissed my hand and behaved extremely well. Several of the men undid their mantles, spreading them at my feet, and some did the same with their arms, as a symbol of allegiance. I, through the interpreter, expressed my interest in their welfare, sorrow at the war having broken out, and my satisfaction at seeing them. I promised they should be governed, and thanked them for their beautiful lament. When they were asked if they had anything to say, one stepped forward and expressed the greatest loyalty, declaring they had nothing to do with the war. They deeply regretted they had not come sooner, when they would have seen dearest Albert. To have seen me had been their greatest joy. I bowed and went upstairs, Sir T. Biddulph following me, saying there were four different tribes, who each were anxious to speak, so I went down again and three more spoke, and at great length, besides the oldest man of all, who is sixty, and had fought in several wars. One said, on seeing me, that he felt inclined to weep, and spoke of dearest Albert's great virtues, really very touchingly. Another spoke of their lands being taken away and hoped I would promise that this should not be done, which I said I would. They are very intelligent. I felt how much my beloved one would approve of my seeing them and listening to them. They were given luncheon.

[1] Of the New Zealand Maoris.

General Grey to Earl Russell.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 1*st August* 1863.

MY DEAR LORD RUSSELL,—The Queen desires me to say that she is very glad to hear that the Cabinet has decided against the identic despatch proposed by France, as she sees Austria has also done, and that she entirely approves of your having at once forwarded the despatches to that effect to Paris and Vienna.—C. GREY.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11*th August* 1863.— . . . Before leaving on the Queen's sad journey[1] (which she dreads, as her nerves are so shattered that any exertion is great pain), she wishes to state once more her desire that *no step* is taken in foreign affairs *without* her *previous sanction* being obtained. This applies especially to this Polish question, but the Queen applies it equally to all others of importance and in particular to Schleswig-Holstein, about which the shameful bad faith of the Danes may lead to serious mischief.

Messengers go three times a week, and the Queen has a cypher besides by which she can communicate with Lord Russell, and if anything very serious should arise, the Queen can return at any time.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 11*th Aug.* 1863.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has been honoured by your Majesty's communication of to-day. He entirely understands your Majesty's feelings on the subject of the journey to Coburg, which must indeed be suggestive of many most painful recollections, and cannot but be attended with much straining emotion, straining both to body and mind.

[1] To Coburg.

Your Majesty may be assured that no step of any importance, either in foreign or home affairs, will be taken during your Majesty's absence, without your Majesty's previous sanction.

As to home affairs, the country is so quiet and contented and the prospect of the harvest is so satisfactory, that nothing is likely to happen of any importance at home.

As to foreign affairs,[1] the most interesting matter, and the one which might under certain circumstances become the most important, is the Polish question; but the decision of England and Austria, not to adopt the French scheme of an identic Note, leaves the negotiation, as it began, within the limits of reciprocal diplomatic communication; and the object of Russia evidently is to spin out the communications till winter sets in, and the snow and frost shall, for the time at least, have put an end to the insurrection. In the meantime, the cruelties practised by both parties, the Russian authorities and the Polish insurgents, are most afflicting. The Russians are endeavouring to exterminate the Poles, and the Poles are murdering friend and foe, Pole and Russian, wherever they can, or wherever they think their cause has been betrayed. What the Emperor may do when the winter has paralysed the insurrection it is difficult to foresee, but, while such men as Mouravieff are employed, there can be but little mercy shown to the vanquished.

As to the Holstein question, it is to be hoped that the German Confederation will have prudence enough to abstain from violent proceedings, which would probably lead to very serious consequences. The Diet has not as yet very intelligibly shown that the Danish patent of March last for Holstein is contrary to any law or rule of the Confederation; and the demand of the Diet to dictate what the King of Denmark shall do about Schleswig cannot be borne out by any

[1] In connection with this survey of foreign affairs, see Introductory Note.

right which the Confederation possesses, or can justly lay claim to.

It would seem, therefore, that the dispute between the Diet and the Danish Government, being limited as it must be to Holstein, ought to be capable of amicable adjustment.

The last accounts from Mexico state that the Government set up by the French have declared for the Archduke Maximilian, as King or Emperor of Mexico. Viscount Palmerston apprehends that your Majesty will feel no uneasiness or jealousy at this proceeding, but will be of opinion that, if the Archduke should decide to go, and should succeed, with the help and protection of France, in establishing order under a monarchical system in Mexico, it would be a great advantage to all European nations having commercial intercourse with Mexico.

The Civil war in America does not seem likely to require for some time to come any new decision by the Powers of Europe, and the President and Mr. Seward have of late been friendly to Great Britain. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

ROSENAU, 17*th Aug.* 1863.—Saw Lord Granville, who had just arrived and been at Frankfort, where this great Congress of reigning Princes, presided over by the Emperor of Austria, is taking place. The King of Prussia refused to attend, complaining of its having been summoned behind his back! *All* the Kings and Princes are there, and there are really very important proposals being discussed and made. Lord Clarendon has been ordered to Frankfort to watch and report. How beloved Albert, with his wise views and counsels, is missed at such a time! Lord Granville feels this so much too.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

ROSENAU, 31*st Aug.* 1863.—The King of Prussia arrived at 5, on his way from Baden to Berlin.

After a few minutes of ordinary conversation, the King alluded to the Congress at Frankfort; said he had met his own Resident Minister there, on the road here, who said that there would probably be one more sitting to-morrow, which would close the whole —at least so they expected; but the King thought that there would be so violent an opposition to the intended proposals, that it might, very possibly, not be finished to-morrow.

I then said that I must be allowed to make one observation, which was, how earnestly I hoped that Prussia and Austria would go together; to which the King replied: "but how? it had been made quite impossible for him."

When the Emperor originally asked him, at Gastein, to come to the Conference, which was to be on the 1st of October, he had consented, expecting to be informed beforehand of what was to be discussed, when, to his great astonishment, he received, just before the Emperor went on the 3rd August, an invitation to come to Frankfort on the 16th August, which was dated July 31st; therefore, several days before the Emperor had come to speak to him, which rendered the Emperor's visit a "complete comedy."

I observed that I thought there was no intention to deceive him, and that there must be some misunderstanding; to which the King interposed, that all the invitations had been ordered to be sent out on the 4th August, and before the King had received his. I repeated that I felt convinced, from what the Emperor had said, and indeed sent me word, that there was the greatest wish to give Prussia a complete position of equality, without which there could be no unity. But the King would not believe this at all, and said that, since this first invitation, he had learnt what the proposals were to be, and that they were of such a nature as to make it impossible for Prussia to accept them. He saw that the intention was to "mediatise" Prussia; consequently when the King of Saxony came with the very flattering and

handsome invitation from the Princes, he felt he could not accept it (which I said I so regretted, as did all Germany), and the struggle, between accepting and refusing, had made him quite ill, he said ; for if he had gone he would have been obliged to leave the Conference immediately again, as he would have found himself quite alone, and asked to discuss subjects which had already been decided on by all the other Sovereigns and Princes. The only person who behaved exceedingly well, in defending Prussia's rights, and in showing up the intrigues which were going on out of doors to the Princes, was the Grand Duke of Baden.

He spoke of a few of the details, which I will not enter into here, except to say, that he considered the Directory of Six as the worst arrangement possible, as it would give, in fact, Austria perpetually the first voice. Some of the Articles proposed he quite agreed in, and was quite ready to adopt. If the Emperor of Austria had treated him with the same openness and fairness with which he met him, everything might have been arranged.

He had written to the King of the Belgians a letter to be communicated to the Emperor of Austria, in which he proposed that all internal questions should be left alone for the present, viz. that of reform and commerce, and that they should merely unite for external purposes, and for the defence of Germany against the common enemy, France ; and with this the Emperor had expressed himself *then* satisfied. As it was, now he heard that the propositions had become worse and worse at Frankfort, for that the original intention to refer what had passed to a Conference of Ministers, in which the Prussian Minister would also take part, had been opposed by the Emperor, who had decided that it was only to be submitted to Prussia *en bloc*, which would give her no option.

He saw that there was pre-determination on the part of Austria to ruin Prussia, and she had so

contrived it, that the odium fell now upon him of having destroyed the unity of Germany. Her conduct had been most false, he repeated.

I said but very little, except occasionally to repeat my belief that this was not the intention, and that, naturally, no arrangement could be successful in which Prussia had not complete parity (*die Parität*), and that the King might rely on my holding that language to the Emperor of Austria, when I saw him, and doing whatever lay in my power to bring about a good understanding, for which Germany wished so much.

The King added that great efforts were made by the Austrians to increase the power of the Catholic Church, and that swarms of priests had arrived in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, trying to influence the lower orders, in every direction, in favour of Austria.

The King expressed the greatest wish that England and Prussia should always keep well together, as it was in the interest of both: they being the two great Protestant Powers. I asked him afterwards, whether he would have any objection to allow the Crown Prince and Princess to come to Scotland for a short while, to which he replied, without a moment's hesitation, None at all, when the Manœuvres were over.

In taking leave, the King's last words were: "I recommend my interests to your care." To which I replied, he might rely upon me with certainty.—V. R.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

[*Dictated.*]

Rosenau, *3rd Sept.* 1863.—The Emperor of Austria paid me a visit at the Schloss at Coburg to-day, having come for that purpose from Frankfort. He was very civil, and, on my asking him whether he had any fresh news from Poland, he thanked me for the great moderation which my Government had shown in this question, which had been of great service to him; to which I replied, my thanks were equally due to

him for the assistance which he had rendered us by his line of conduct.

A little while afterwards the Emperor said to me how glad he was that our Governments were on so friendly a footing, which I naturally reciprocated, and said it had ever been my anxious wish, as well as that of my beloved husband, than whom no one felt more strongly for the Emperor and Austria than he had done in those trying times in 1859. I then said that the present moment was one of great importance for Germany, and that I trusted it would lead to unity. To which he replied he hoped so too, but Prussia was a great difficulty. I rejoined that I trusted there was no disposition to lower Prussia, for that naturally Prussia and Austria must go together, to which the Emperor answered, no one dreamt in Germany of lowering Prussia, which was an impossibility, but that at Berlin great pretensions were raised. He believed that it was not the King, personally, who made great difficulties, but his Government. I said I could not conceal from him that the King of Prussia seemed much hurt at the belief that there was an intention to show want of respect to Prussia, and thought that there was a desire to place her under Austria, which I had assured him I believed to be quite unfounded. The Emperor merely repeated the same thing, and said that he thought it was a great mistake that the King of Prussia had not come to Frankfort, in which I agreed. We both agreed that the unity of Germany was of the greatest importance to Europe, as it would keep the Emperor of the French quiet. The Emperor said that it was necessary to be constantly on the watch with regard to the designs of the Emperor Napoleon, and that in England we kept him in very good order. Here the conversation ended.

After luncheon I asked the Emperor what was now going to be done. He answered, that they were going to send the result of the Congress to the King of Prussia, asking him to accept it, or to state what

his objections to the plan were ; in the latter case they would probably have to meet again and consider them. Might I, I said, say to our daughter, the Crown Princess, that there was every disposition on his part to be friendly towards Prussia, and to treat her on a footing of equality ? He said, assuredly so, but that he was afraid that there were great pretensions entertained at Berlin. I went on to say, that what I believed was expected, and wished, was equality between the two Powers ; could there not be some arrangement of alternation in the *Presidium* and *Directorium* ? This was a great difficulty, the Emperor answered ; Austria always had had the presidency, and it was quite a new pretension of Prussia to have it also, and in Austria they would dislike extremely its being given up. This was all the Emperor said, and though he very carefully avoided giving his opinion as to what would be done on the subject, he said nothing to preclude the hope of such an arrangement. (Signed)V.R.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

Coburg, 4*th Sept.* 1863.— . . . Lord Granville indeed feels all that your Majesty has to undergo, and admires the courage with which your Majesty conquers the difficulty, however strong the reaction may afterwards be. The strain to your Majesty's feelings is excessive, but Lord Granville cannot admit that your Majesty has any right to feel anything but perfect self-confidence as to the perfect judgment and tact with which your Majesty conducts these interviews. . . .

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

Laeken, 21*st Sept.* 1863.— . . . My opinion about Fritz remains unchanged ; he cannot meet his father's commands with a simple refusal. I found, amongst my letters to Stockmar, one in which was treated your going to a Drawing Room with your dear Mama in 1831. Conroy from some spite had made her refuse it ; I had therefore to discuss the matter with

Lord Grey. He told me there could be no doubt that the Sovereign had the right to *order* any member of his family to *his presence*. There is no doubt a great difference to go to a Drawing Room, or to attend a Council, but still to *disobey* the Sovereign and the father would be a dangerous precedent. I think that you have a sort of *right* to *interfere in an amicable way*, and the King is more likely to dispense his son from an obnoxious act on *your desire* than on any other. Vicky wrote to you that, as a freeborn Englishwoman, she would not submit to certain things, etc.: we have first the commandment "Honour thy father and thy mother," etc., which cannot be set aside *ad libitum*; and the Princess Royal in a foreign land cannot alter what is to a certain extent there the law; things must be brought about by amicable means. You cannot in your own position promote the disobedience of children, to which after all they are sufficiently inclined.

Beloved Charlotte[1] arrived here on the 11th and left us, to our great regret, on the 19th. In many things, and also in her quiet judgment and good sense, she is very like angelic Louise.[2] Max seems decided to accept,[3] if his conditions are accepted. The undertaking is a perilous one, but if it succeeds it will be one of the greatest and most useful of our time. He has a great wish to distinguish himself, and to get out of his present *dolce far niente*. Charlotte dear is not opposed to it; she is very venturesome and would go with Max to the end of the world; she will be of the greatest use to him; and, if success there is to be, much will be owing to her. That in England they appreciate the importance of this undertaking is best shown by the great rise in the Mexican funds, which is very remarkable when compared with the Greek funds. . . .

[1] King Leopold's daughter, married to the Archduke Maximilian of Austria.

[2] Princess Charlotte's mother, the late Queen of the Belgians.

[3] The throne of Mexico.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

BALMORAL, 4*th Oct.* 1863.—The Queen returns the draft despatches to Lord Bloomfield[1] and Sir A. Buchanan and to Mr. Grey.[2]

The more the Queen considers this subject, the more uneasy she feels, lest the tone of these despatches assuming, or appearing to assume, the existence of intentions on the part of the Diet, which have never been entertained, and have indeed been expressly disclaimed, may have the effect of encouraging the Danish Government in their resistance to those demands which Lord Russell has himself admitted to be just, and may thus lead to complications affording the Emperor of the French the opportunity he is supposed to be looking for, of advancing those ambitious designs of which he has been so long suspected.

The Queen *must* repeat the expression of her *determination not* to consent to any measures which may involve her in the threatened rupture between Denmark and Germany, and she must ask that no step may be taken which may commit her Government, without the mature consideration of the Cabinet.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

BEAUDESERT, 9*th Oct.* 1863.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty: he does not wonder that your Majesty is anxious that the Dano-German question should not terminate in hostilities. A very able despatch of Mr. Paget shows the danger of allowing the question to take its own course, and a despatch of Sir A. Buchanan describes the advantage to England of the integrity of Denmark.

Your Majesty thinks that the German Diet have never had the intention of forcing upon Denmark a Common Constitution, formed of equally independent parts, the objections to which your Majesty very clearly perceives. But, if the words used by the Diet

[1] British Ambassador in Vienna.
[2] British representative at Frankfort.

are not to be understood in the sense which to Lord Russell they seem to bear, nothing can be easier than for the Diet to disavow that meaning, and to declare that the Federal Execution is confined to the privileges of Holstein and Lauenburg.

But if the Diet do intend to impose a Constitution on Denmark, the matter becomes very serious, and the independence of Denmark is threatened by an abuse of the power of Federal Execution.

The danger which your Majesty apprehends, from French ambition, would be much aggravated, if Denmark and Sweden could be told by France, with any justice, that England abandons these Powers to the will and force of Germany, without any regard for their integrity and independence.

If Denmark can be prevailed upon to make some concession, the danger may be averted. But Denmark can only be induced to do so in the belief that, if her existence were really in danger, England would stand her friend.

It is not necessary, however, for the moment to go any further. The answer of the Diet must be considered by the Cabinet before any new communication is made to Germany. . . .

General Grey to Earl Russell.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, *6th November* 1863.

MY DEAR LORD RUSSELL,—The Queen desires me to send you back the letter from the Emperor of the French[1] which you forwarded to her Majesty this afternoon.

It is a letter which her Majesty thinks can only be answered after the most mature deliberation by the Cabinet. The Emperor will probably endeavour to throw the responsibility of future events on those who reject his pacific proposals, yet he must be aware that his proposals are such as it is impossible to accept, at all events in their present shape.

[1] In which the Emperor Napoleon proposed a Congress to revise the Treaties of 1815. See Introductory Note.

The Queen will be glad to hear from you to-morrow, what your opinion is of this letter.—C. GREY.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 10*th Nov.* 1863.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty: he has the honour to state that the Cabinet advise your Majesty to write the letter of which a copy is sent, referring the question of a Congress to your Majesty's advisers.

The Cabinet were also of opinion that a despatch should be addressed to the Government of the Emperor of the French, or rather to Lord Cowley, asking what are the questions to be raised in the Congress, and what are to be the powers exercised by them.

Lord Russell is to present a draft on this model to the Cabinet to-morrow, which will be afterwards submitted to your Majesty.

If your Majesty can sign the enclosed letter to-morrow morning, it can be sent in the evening.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12*th November* 1863.

MY BELOVED UNCLE,—Accept my warmest thanks for your dear letter of the 10th.

To-day is the anniversary which began that time of horror and woe—dear Pedro's death—to-morrow dear Charles's and the *still* worse anniversary of those *news* which broke my Angel's heart! *Still* we must be thankful that in Bertie's so improved and altered conduct, and in his happy marriage with dear Alix, who is a most noble, excellent, dear creature, we have a realisation of what my Angel so ardently wished, and I doubt not *he* sees and knows this, and that is *one* of his rewards.

You will be sorry to hear of two things—first, that I fear the King of P[russia] is again molesting poor Fritz, and secondly, that my dear Lady Augusta, at *41*, without a previous long attachment, has, most

unnecessarily, decided to *marry* (!!) that certainly *most* distinguished and excellent man, Dr. Stanley!![1] It has been my *greatest sorrow* and trial *since* my misfortune! *I* thought she *never* would leave *me*! She seems, however, to think that she can by *his* guidance be of more use than before even. She will remain in my service and be often with me, but it cannot be *the same*, for her first duty is *now* to another! Mrs. Bruce will now be the most with me and is also most useful, though she has not as great *charm* as dear Augusta.

This Congress is in fact an impertinence. I hope *no* Sovereigns will listen to his[2] call, and lower themselves by going there. The answer given by the Government I think a very sensible one. . . .

Pray let me know, if, aided by your faithful Moore, I may look out for a House for you in our dear Island?[3] It would be a *real* satisfaction to be able to go often and see you, *most* beloved Uncle.

I am poorly and weak, and the days hang heavy on my broken heart. Ever your devoted, unhappy niece, V. R.

Dearest Feodore[4] is a great resource and comfort.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16*th Nov.* 1863.—Though the Queen gave a message to Sir Charles Wood for Lord Russell and the Cabinet, last night, she must write a line this morning herself, as she sees that the King of Denmark is dead!

The Queen is *much alarmed* at the danger which this entails of immediate war, the arrangement of 1852 *never* having been accepted by the Diet, and being, as Lord Russell *well knows*, *contrary* to the rights of succession existing in Holstein and Schleswig.

[1] Who had just been appointed Dean of Westminster.
[2] The Emperor of the French.
[3] Of Wight.
[4] The Queen's half-sister, widow of Prince Ernest of Hohenlohe-Langenburg.

She urges the Government *most* strongly to do *nothing* without *consultation* with the other *Powers*, but *especially* with Germany.

General Grey to Earl Russell.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 18*th November* 1863.

MY DEAR LORD RUSSELL,—The Queen desires me to return the enclosed memorandum of your conversation with the Marquis de Cadore. Her Majesty hopes your very proper demand for some written document, to submit for the deliberation of the Cabinet, may be intended as preliminary to a rejection of the proposed Congress. Of the four subjects enumerated as requiring the consideration of a Congress, Austria has already positively declared she would not consent to discuss two.

The Queen gets more and more anxious on the subject of Denmark, and the succession to the Duchies. We are doubtless bound to recognise the new King, and it is probably the best arrangement. But her Majesty finds from the conversation of the Crown Prince and Princess Hohenlohe this morning, that the Liberal party in Germany is likely, not only to protest against the violation of the legitimate order of succession in the Duchies, but to take active measures to support what they consider the right. Her Majesty is very anxious that the new King of Denmark should give no excuse, by any hasty proceeding, for such measures on the part of Germany, and hopes, therefore, that you will earnestly counsel him to suspend his signature to the new Constitution, as Sir A. Paget recommends.

Above all, her Majesty is anxious that her own Government should give no ground for Germany to say with any appearance of reason, as she is much inclined to say, that the policy of England is influenced by the desire to see Germany weakened, or that she ignores, or is disposed unduly to interfere with, the undoubted rights of the German Confederation.

C. GREY.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

CHESHAM PLACE, 18*th Nov.* 1863.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he has answered Sir A. Paget's question by saying that your Majesty's Government do not wish to urge the King to a course his subjects may dislike, but, if he is asked, to say that the suspension of the royal decision upon the Constitution may give facilities for mediation.

It is evident the new King is in a very difficult position, and a very decided tone on the part of the British Government might greatly aggravate the perils of his position.

Lord Cowley writes against the proposed Congress.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19*th November* 1863.

MY BELOVED UNCLE,—I have to thank you for two most affectionate letters of the 13th and 17th. This death of the King of Denmark is a terrible business. My beloved Albert felt *very* strongly the injustice of the Protocol of '52, which was a Russian intrigue; but he also felt that, if the Danes fulfilled the stipulations, there was nothing for it but abiding by it. Now we were on the point of getting matters in a *fair* train of settlement, when this wretched King dies, and poor King Christian has *signed* the very thing which the Diet will insist the Execution is necessary for. What *can* be done? If Denmark were to fulfil the stipulations of the Treaty, then Austria, Prussia, and the other Powers would be obliged to stand by the Protocol of '52, unjust and bad as that was. Still, anything is better than a war, for where is that to end? It will give our mischievous neighbour[1] the opportunity he has been anxiously looking out for, and God knows *when* it will end! On the other hand, to tell Germany she is to submit to the incorporation of Schleswig would be an offence she would never submit to!

[1] The Emperor Napoleon III.

Some sort of mediation or arbitration ought to be thought of, if *possible*. Fritz W. is very violent, Vicky sensible, Feodore very anxious and at times violent, but much distressed for me, and I *miserable*, wretched, almost frantic without my Angel to stand by me, and *put* the *others* down, and in their right place! *No* respect is paid to *my* opinion *now*, and this helplessness almost drives me *wild*, and in the family *his* loss is more *dreadfully* felt than *anywhere*. It makes visits like Fritz and Vicky's *very painful* and *trying*. Oh! God, why, oh! why was *all* this permitted? and *now* this year everything that interested my Angel and that *he* understood takes place, and he is not *here* to help us, and to write those admirable *memoranda* which are *gospel now*. Oh! my fate is *too too dreadful*! If I *could* but go soon to him, and be at rest! Day and night I have no rest or peace. God's will be done. "I must bear it," these were the patient words of a poor dying old woman in a lodge here, who suffers tortures from internal cancer, "I must bear it, till the Lord pleases to take me," and so *I must say*. . . .

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

Downing Street, 19*th Nov.* 1863.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to state that the Cabinet this afternoon considered a draft of a proposed answer to the communication from the Emperor of the French, about the Congress, which will be submitted to your Majesty. This answer, however, has been written rather in anticipation of the official communication which is coming from Paris, and therefore it is not to be sent till that communication arrives, and it may indeed require some alterations which may be necessary in order to adapt it to the expected communication. But the Cabinet were entirely of opinion that it would be advisable for your Majesty to decline the Congress. Such a meeting could only tend to bring out, in bolder relief, all those differences of opinion, and conflicts

of interest, which are at present kept in the background; and the probability is that the parties who would meet in such Congress would part upon worse terms with each other than they had been on when the Congress first assembled.

The Cabinet also considered the unfortunate move of the Duke of Augustenburg, about Holstein.[1] It is quite clear that by the Treaty of 1852, of which Viscount Palmerston left a copy with your Majesty, England, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden are bound to acknowledge Prince Christian of Glücksburg as having succeeded to Denmark and the Duchies, and it appears that Würtemberg, Hanover, Saxony, and some of the other German States afterwards acceded to that Treaty. Therefore, as the largest and most important members of the Confederation are bound by their separate Treaty engagements to acknowledge the accession of the present King of Denmark, it seems difficult to understand how the Confederation, as a body, can oppose itself to that accession, or espouse the cause of the Duke of Augustenburg. It seemed, however, to the Cabinet that the only action which your Majesty could be advised to take in this matter, at present, is to acknowledge the succession of Prince Christian, in accordance with the Treaty of 1852, and, if the same thing is done by all the other parties to that Treaty, it may be hoped that no local war will take place.

With regard to the other question, namely, the dispute between the Danish Government and the Diet, about the Patent of March for Holstein, your Majesty's mediation has been offered, and may, it is hoped, be accepted. . . .

General Grey to Earl Russell.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 20*th November* 1863.

MY DEAR LORD RUSSELL,—I hope you will get my telegram in time to stop your coming to-day.

[1] In asserting his claim to the Dukedom. See Introductory Note.

The Queen would on no account wish you to run the risk of making it worse,[1] and will be glad to see you any other day, except next Monday.

The Queen wishes only what you propose to do, namely, to inculcate moderation on all sides, and to deprecate hasty proceedings. But should these efforts on your part fail, as from the existing excitement seems only too probable, her Majesty's next hope, and most anxious desire is, that we should not be involved in any hostilities that may ensue.

We are ourselves bound, as are the other Powers, parties to the Treaty of 1852, and the States which afterwards acceded to it, to recognise the new King as Sovereign of the same dominions as those belonging to his predecessor. At the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact of the arrangement made by that Treaty not having been accepted either by the Diet of the Confederation, or by the Duchies themselves, and further, that the new King, by giving his assent to the new Constitution by which Schleswig is incorporated with the Kingdom of Denmark, has acted in *direct violation* of the stipulations of the Treaty, *by which alone* he ascends the Danish throne.

The German Powers may plead that this infraction of the Treaty by Denmark releases them from their engagements; and they may feel themselves at liberty, in consequence, to support the *undoubtedly legitimate order of succession*, in the person of the Hereditary Prince of Augustenburg.

Much must also depend on the disposition of the people of the Duchies themselves. It is only too probable that the Holsteiners may be unanimous in their rejection of the claims of Prince Christian, and that, in Schleswig, opinions may be divided according to nationalities. While fulfilling our Treaty obligations, by ourselves recognising Prince Christian, the Queen would be as averse, as she is sure you will be, to *our taking part* in *an attempt to coerce the people of Holstein* to accept a Sovereign imposed upon them by

[1] *i.e.* the gout.

a Treaty, to which they were no parties. We may imagine that our interests, and those of Europe, require that Denmark should not be reduced within too narrow limits; but it would be too much like the principle on which the old Holy Alliance acted, to assign boundaries to kingdoms, and to dispose of people without their own consent, as may suit our own, or even European, convenience; and this is the accusation which the Queen now daily hears made against England.

The Queen hopes that the delay in your coming here will enable you to come to some conclusion as to the best means of surmounting difficulties which, the more her Majesty considers them, appear to her the more insuperable.—C. GREY.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 23*rd Nov.* 1863.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty: he greatly regrets that the necessity of answering demands for instructions, and the very critical state of the Danish question, should have induced him to send off telegrams which had not received the previous approbation of your Majesty.

Lord Russell feels very confident that, if Austria and Prussia are persuaded that your Majesty's Government feels a serious interest in the integrity of Denmark, peace may be preserved, but, if the question is allowed to linger, the result will be war.

The Cabinet have amended the two telegraphic despatches which went yesterday and to-day. They are both in pursuance of decisions taken by the Government, and only maintain that, when the Crown has taken engagements, the Crown will abide by them.

Any surrender of the integrity of Denmark would be very unpopular in this country.

Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli have hitherto reproached your Majesty's Government with being too favourable to Germany. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 24*th Nov.* 1863.—The Queen has to acknowledge Lord Russell's letter and the drafts which she returns.

She approves of that to Lord Bloomfield and Sir A. Buchanan, but thinks that to Lord Bloomfield, in answer to his 556, had better be withheld.

The Queen's only desire is that her Government should adopt the course best calculated to prevent war. She asks for no "*favour*" for Germany, as Lord Russell seems, from his letter, to imagine, but merely that *justice* should be done on *all sides*. She would gladly see the arrangement of 1852 (unjust as she must ever consider that to have been) acquiesced in by Germany and the Duchies, but doubts much whether we take the best means of effecting that object, when we throw all the blame of the present difficulties on Germany, and shut our eyes to the *glaring* violation of her *solemn* promises of which Denmark has been guilty.

It is indisputable that Austria and Prussia only became parties to the Treaty in consideration of certain engagements taken by Denmark, which she has *now violated*; and surely to taunt Austria with being the first to throw a stone at the edifice of European peace, is not the way to induce her to adhere to a Treaty from which the conduct of Denmark would give her a fair pretext for pleading that she was absolved!

It was the enactment of a common Constitution for Denmark and Schleswig that provoked the insurrection of 1848, which Denmark was unable to put down of herself. Should a similar proceeding, on the part of Denmark now, produce a similar result, the Queen can *never consent* to *become* a *Party* to the *imposing* by *force*, upon the *people* of *Holstein*, an arrangement which has been concluded *without their concurrence*.

It seems to the Queen *absolutely* necessary, if we

expect our mediation or advice to be accepted by Germany, that it should *not* be offered in terms to lead to the belief that we had prejudged the question.

The Queen hopes these drafts will be *well* considered by the Cabinet, to which she would also wish *this* letter to be communicated.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 25*th Nov.* 1863.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to state, in answer to your Majesty's letter of yesterday, that the despatches which your Majesty approved were sent off yesterday; that the despatch to Lord Bloomfield was withdrawn in conformity with your Majesty's wish, and that to Sir Alexander Malet was likewise withdrawn without being read to the Cabinet, Lord Russell thinking it much safer to write too little than too much.

Lord Russell does not suppose that your Majesty wishes any favour to be shown to Germany, but merely that justice should be done to all sides.

Lord Russell has been accused not only by Lord Derby and Lord Malmesbury, but by Lord Wodehouse and others of the Liberal party, of being unjust to Denmark, but he also wishes justice to be done to all sides.

Your Majesty is not asked to impose by force upon the people of Holstein an arrangement which has been concluded without their consent. But, on the other hand, it would be difficult for your Majesty to become a party to impose by force on the Danish inhabitants of Schleswig a rule abhorrent to them.

It is to be hoped that Austria may repair the mischief she has done by raising this question.

The excitement in Germany is very great.

The Cabinet meet to-day to consider the answer which is to be finally given to the French proposal of a Congress.

Lord Russell encloses a copy of Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys's despatch. As your Majesty is already

aware of the nature of the French proposal, and has approved of the proposed answer, Lord Russell proposes, unless the Cabinet makes important alterations, to send off the answer to-night, declining the proposed Congress. Some trifling modifications are necessary, owing to the French despatch.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, 24*th November* 1863.

MY BELOVED VICTORIA,—Receive my warmest thanks for your dear letter of the 19th. The death of the poor King of Denmark is, under existing circumstances, *comme fait exprès for my neighbour*. It will be particularly for you very painful, as our dear Angel took such a great interest in that question. Unfortunately, to upset the London Protocol could now only be done by force. The new King, paper King as the Germans call him, ought *not* to have sanctioned the portion of the Constitution which also includes Schleswig. It cannot be maintained by him, but his position rendered it a question of life or death to sanction or not to sanction.

The Diet was very well disposed when I was at Frankfort, but this new incident ruins all. The Diet wishes to treat as Diet, not by Prussia or Austria alone, but with the five Powers, the Schleswig question. The Schleswig question must remain where the Danes had agreed to place it: the Protocol and their engagements fix that. In Holstein there is the embarrassing question of the succession, which applies equally to Schleswig, but with less chance. Originally, without the European arrangement, the Augustenburgs had the prior right, but the Duke made an arrangement, at the time of the Protocol, to cede these rights for a pecuniary consideration. Our very stupid forefathers have done the same for the Rhenish Duchies. Such arrangements have often taken place. I don't know what latitude the wording may have left to the Augustenburgs. If Schleswig

and Holstein were to be taken from Denmark, as a Kingdom little would remain.

Then there is the succession of the Russian branches of the family to be taken into consideration. The position into which things had fallen just before the late King's demise must be maintained. I recommend the Bavarian Minister at Frankfort, M. von der Pfordten, a Saxon and a Protestant : I had not known him before; he is the *rapporteur* of the whole concern, and leads the Bundestag, which is a great blessing, as Kubeck[1] and Sydon[2] are *très faibles*. If there is a sensible man capable to do good it is certainly him. The North Germans are quite mad on this unfortunate question. I deplore it for you. You must forbid it in your rooms.

I have had from Lord Palmerston about that Congress a most admirable letter. How clear and strong that mind remains; may he be long preserved to [be] a Minister !

And now, God bless you. I have been confined with my cold since the 17th, and feel still very unwell. Ever, my poor, beloved Child, your devoted Uncle, LEOPOLD R.

Queen Victoria to Sir Charles Wood.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28*th Nov.* 1863.—Sir C. Wood may well imagine the shock and sorrow these terrible news[3] are to the Queen, both publicly and privately.

India must really not be the grave of all our best men, and Sir C. Wood should seriously consult medical men as to the best seat of Government, and as to the amount of work which a man can or cannot bear. Sir C. Wood will recollect that, from the first, when the Queen heard of Lord Elgin's being ill (and he has never

[1] President of the Federal Diet.

[2] Representative of Prussia at the Diet.

[3] That Lord Elgin, Viceroy of India, was dangerously ill at Dharmsala, in Cashmere. He died there on 20th November. There was of course at this time no telegraph to India.

been *well*) she urged his returning, and upon *no* account sacrificing another valuable life!

Poor dear Lady Elgin! May God support her, but *what* a life hers has been, and is! Every possible human sorrow, to be crowned by one which makes life a blank and a desert! . . .

Sir Charles Wood to Queen Victoria.

India Office, 28*th Nov.* 1863.—Sir Charles Wood with his humble duty begs to acquaint your Majesty that Sir John Lawrence gratefully accepts the appointment which your Majesty graciously authorised Sir C. Wood to offer him.

Sir John Lawrence, having seen Lord Elgin's wishes as to the early arrival of his successor, proposes to proceed to India by the mail packet of the middle of December; which will render it necessary for him to leave London on the 8th. Lady Lawrence will remain, for the present at least, in London.

Sir Charles Wood is anxious that the appointment should not be mentioned in England, till it is too late for any public telegram to reach India from this country: as he thinks it desirable that it should be known by the Government there, in the first instance.

Your Majesty's gracious and feeling message to Lady Elgin was sent to-day.[1] . . .

Sir Charles will be glad to receive your Majesty's commands as to Sir John Lawrence's coming to Windsor or Osborne. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

Windsor Castle, 2*nd Dec.* 1863.—The Queen will not object to this despatch being sent, as it has been deliberately agreed to by the Cabinet, but she *fears much* it is little calculated to effect the object her Government professes to have in view.

The Queen quite agrees with the opinion of Prince

[1] The Queen's message ran thus: "I cannot describe my sorrow and my anxiety. May God spare your dear husband's most valuable life!"

Gortchakoff, as expressed in Lord Napier's despatch, that by the law "by which Schleswig is incorporated with the Monarchy, the engagements of Denmark towards Germany were set aside," and also that "we must take care not to encourage the Danish Government by taking an attitude too decided against Germany."

The King of the Belgians, who is well disposed towards Denmark, and most anxious to maintain the Settlement of 1852, takes the same view of the Danish engagements, and says explicitly "the King ought not to be recognised till he has fulfilled them."

The Queen cannot think it is the course most calculated to preserve peace, to ignore entirely, as Lord Russell does, the connection between the Treaty of 1852 and the previous negotiations between Germany and Denmark.

It appears certain that the two German Powers will insist on their being taken as part of the same arrangement, and in this course they will be supported, not only by the *whole* of Germany, but by the other Governments of Europe, with the *exception* of England! . . .

It is clear that the German Powers *only* consented to *take part* in this Treaty, on the *faith* of the engagements contracted by Denmark, and it seems to the Queen *not* fair, to say the least, to set them aside on the technical and legal ground of their *not* having been inserted in the Treaty.

Since writing the above, the Queen has found the accompanying letters written in 1850, which contain the Prince's and her views at the time.

She can only repeat the wish expressed in the concluding sentence.

The Queen wishes this letter and the accompanying papers to be seen by the Cabinet.

Sir Charles Wood to General Grey.

INDIA OFFICE, *3rd Dec.* 1863.—I have not thought the tone of our despatches well calculated to carry

the German Powers with us, and have objected to several expressions in them at various times.

I think that in 1848 the German Confederation and Prussia acted in the most unjustifiable manner towards Denmark, and I think they have no business to interfere as to Schleswig.

But Denmark did make a very clear and solemn promise not to incorporate Schleswig, or to do anything towards it. Austria and Prussia may well complain that she is not acting up to her promises made to them.

It is clear that the Germans, very foolishly and very unjustly, are bent on coercing Denmark. Our best hope of checking them is by the exertions of Austria and Prussia; and surely therefore it is of the first importance not to offend them by the tone of what we say to them; and secondly to press upon Denmark to pursue a line of conduct which must compel them to act on their own engagement.

This seems to be the view of Prussia, which Power is friendly to Denmark.

It is too late to alter our despatch, but instructions might be given to Lord Wodehouse,[1] more in this sense.—C. W.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 Piccadilly, 3*rd Dec.* 1863.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and with reference to your Majesty's communication to Lord Russell, about the questions pending between Denmark and Germany, he begs to submit to your Majesty the following considerations.

Your Majesty's Government claim from the Powers and States, Parties to the Treaty of 1852, the fulfilment of the engagements of that Treaty, those engagements being that the Danish Monarchy, consisting

[1] Who had been sent on a special mission to Copenhagen.

of Denmark and the Duchies, should be kept together, and that for that purpose Prince Christian should succeed to the throne, upon the death of the late King, and of his then next heirs, who died childless before the late King. The Powers and States concerned seem on the whole not unwilling to do their duty in this respect, but pretensions are put forward in Germany to show that the Treaty of 1852 is not binding, unless some other engagements alleged to have been entered into by the Crown of Denmark, at an antecedent time, and upon another subject, shall be also fulfilled. Now, plain sense and good faith require that a Treaty shall be construed by its own written text, and not by the motives and intentions of the parties who signed or acceded to it. If this were not so, there would be no security in international transactions, and every Treaty might be evaded by allegations of the motives and understood conditions on which it was concluded. It is with a Treaty as with a Law. A Law must be construed and applied according to its letter and enactment, and not according to the views and opinions expressed in the debates which led to the passing of the Bill. If the Treaty of 1852 had contained an article saying that Prince Christian was not to be acknowledged King-Duke, unless the engagements contracted by the King of Denmark in 1851, about not incorporating Schleswig with Denmark, should be observed, and if it could now be proved that Schleswig has been so incorporated, Germany would be entitled to call upon the Parties to the Treaty of 1852 to withhold their acknowledgment of Prince Christian, till the other condition of the Treaty should be fulfilled. But no such condition was inserted in the Treaty, and it remains yet to be proved that Schleswig has been incorporated with Denmark; and it ought not to be forgotten that the Treaty of 1852, such as it stands, was drawn up at Berlin by the Prussian Government, and sent from thence to London, and signed without alteration, and that as to the complaint that Denmark has

broken faith by giving a Constitution common in some respects to Denmark and Schleswig, but leaving to Schleswig its local autonomy, it must be remembered that the Diet itself required, as one of its demands, that a common Constitution should be given, including Denmark, Schleswig, Lauenburg, and Holstein, the only objection to which, on the part of Denmark, was that the central Parliament to be constituted for these four lands would, as proposed by Germany, have given an undue preponderance to the Duchies. Viscount Palmerston then would beg to submit that the true view of the matter is as follows :—

The Powers and States, Parties to the Treaty of 1852, are bound by every consideration of honour and good faith to acknowledge King Christian as King-Duke of all the territories which were under the sway of the late King.

That done, they will have a responsible Sovereign to deal with, from whom they will be justly entitled to claim the fulfilment of any and every engagement taken by his predecessor and not at present made good. They should then prove, and not merely assert, that the Constitution which is to take effect for Denmark and Schleswig on the 1st of January next is a violation of the engagements made by the late King, bearing in mind that the question so raised is not a Federal but an international question. If the Germans can make good their assertion that an engagement about Schleswig has been broken, they should diplomatically call upon the King of Denmark to make it good; and no doubt the non-German Powers interested in this matter would back in such case the German representations; and if all such endeavours to obtain from Denmark an act of justice (assuming it to be shown to be such) should fail, then Germany would have a right of war against Denmark, which at present Germany has not. It might be hoped, however, that such right would not be allowed to accrue.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *3rd December* 1863.

MY BELOVED UNCLE,—I have to thank you for your kind letter received yesterday. I am *much* worried by this S.-Holstein business, which is *so strongly* felt in Germany that I fear the Governments will be unable to *prevent* great risings, and will be unable to *act* as the luckless Protocol of '52 would *in fact oblige* them to do.

Vicky modifies her wish and says I have misunderstood her; that she merely meant that a war now would be *least* of the two evils; I think she is wrong and that my darling would have said so too. But I am also almost sure that the Protocol will *not* be tenable, and that it will be necessary to come to some arrangement by which Holstein is given up to its *lawful Duke*, after we have recognised the Protocol. The strong feeling of the people of Holstein, who never were consulted, *must* be *respected*. The Protocol was considered by my Angel as the most flagrant violation of *law* and justice possible, and I have found *all* his wise writings on the subject and have had them recopied and shall show them all to you.

I am glad to hear Leo comes over to consult Mr. Paget[1]; he is said to be *very clever*, and very sensible. I hope soon to hear that you have decided to take Westfield House, near Ryde. Sir A. Clifford has written again to know whether you are likely to take it.

This terrible account of Lord Elgin will, I am sure, shock you *very much*. I fear ultimate recovery is out of the question, *if* even he lingers on! He is only 52! The Duke of Newcastle is also in a very precarious state; here are two again of our young men, very able, honest, and personal friends of ours, likely ere long to be removed, and I, unprotected, unaided, unadvised, uncheered, will *soon* be left with *none* of *our personal* friends on whom I *relied* more

[1] The distinguished surgeon, afterwards Sir James Paget.

than *ever before* even; Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, Lord Elphinstone, Lord Herbert, and Sir C. Lewis, ALL *gone within* three years, and two more on the brink of the grave; and this already alarmed my beloved Angel so much (though *then* Lord Canning and Sir C. Lewis were alive), but with *him* by my side, I needed, so *far less*, all assistance and advice; but NOW? I *hope* and *think* that *I* shall *not* long *require any*, for I hope I am *gradually* nearing the end of my sad and wearisome journey. . . .

When *all* seems darkest, gloomiest, then one's faith, one's *trust* in God, one's conviction of God's love and mercy in that blessed *hereafter*, becomes strongest.

God bless you, beloved Uncle. Ever your devoted and most truly wretched niece, V. R.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, *9th Dec.* 1863.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has telegraphed to Sir A. Paget that, seeing the great forces against them, he concludes the Danish Government will not resist the Federal Execution.

If he had given direct advice, the Danish Government might afterwards have called upon England to defend them, as she had prevented their defending themselves.

M. de Bismarck's language about Rendsburg is very suspicious. It looks as if he was desirous of invading Schleswig by stealth.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, *24th Dec.* 1863.—The news from Copenhagen and Germany are both very alarming.

The time seems now at hand when some compromise must be thought of, which Lord Russell and Lord Wodehouse both mentioned to the Queen, as in all probability the likeliest way to settle this terribly complicated question; and the Queen would ask Lord

Russell to give this his *most serious attention*, as she cannot but think that otherwise War will be unavoidable.

It is no longer a question of maintaining the Treaty of '52 at all hazards, it is whether *War* is to be *averted or not*, and both parties, whether they are in the right or in the wrong, *ought* to give way and come to a compromise.

If the Queen could feel that she had helped in staying the shedding of blood (and if once begun *who* knows when it will end ?) she cares not for the abuse which will be heaped upon us, by those who considered they were in the right (and that Germany has right on its side the Queen must always think), but would thank God for it.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 26*th Dec.* 1863.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty : he quite agrees with your Majesty that there should be some compromise between Germany and Denmark. But until that compromise takes effect he thinks it will be impossible for your Majesty's Government to consent to a German occupation of Schleswig. . . .

It appears that France, out of spite for the refusal of the Congress, is encouraging Germany on one side, and holding out to Denmark, on the other, that she may expect help in the spring.

Sir Charles Phipps to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Copy.*]

Confidential. OSBORNE 27*th December* 1863.

MY DEAR LORD PALMERSTON,—The Queen has directed me to write, in her name, to you upon a subject, on which she might find it difficult herself to enter fully.

The tendency of several articles in the newspapers lately, as well as the suggestions, most kindly meant, of some of her Majesty's friends, have led the Queen

to fear that she may shortly be expected to take part in Court ceremonials, and to appear in State upon public occasions.

As the opening of Parliament is not very far distant, and the London season will then commence, the Queen, who feels herself quite unequal to do what might perhaps now, from feelings of the purest loyalty and attachment, be hoped for at her hands, has thought it expedient to consult her medical advisers, in order that the weight of their professional opinion might be added to her own consciousness of her total inability, without serious injury to her health, to perform those functions of her high position which are accompanied by State ceremonials, and which necessitate the appearance in full dress in public, which, under any circumstances, would be most painful efforts to her, now that she stands alone.

Her Majesty's Physicians—Sir J. Clark, Dr. Jenner, and Dr. Watson—after consultation, are very decidedly of opinion that, with a due regard to the preservation of her Majesty's health, it would be most undesirable that her Majesty should undertake any such duties.

Although there is not, I am happy to say, any discoverable organic or distinct illness, yet the Queen is so far from strong, and is so constantly tired and worn out with the immense amount of business of all kinds, both public and private, which now devolves upon her alone, that it would be, in their opinion, most unadvisable that her Majesty should be subjected to the fatigue and reaction consequent upon any such exertion.

The Queen thinks it right that you should be immediately made acquainted with this opinion. Nobody knows better than you do the readiness of her Majesty to perform every duty, however painful and trying they must now be, which her health will allow; and she has not failed to remark the consideration with which the Government have refrained from making any suggestions upon this subject to her—a delicacy which she attributes to the feeling that no

such pressure would be required to induce her to do all that she was able. The Queen indeed wishes it to be believed, as generally as possible, that she will at all times do everything to which she feels herself equal.

The preservation of her Majesty's health will be, however, the first wish of every one of her subjects.

Should you wish for any further information upon this subject, her Majesty has no objection to her physicians calling upon you at any time most convenient to you.

It would probably be well that it should become generally known that her Majesty is acting under medical advice, in maintaining a certain amount of quiet and seclusion; but this is a matter of great delicacy, because it is of importance not to cause any alarm, for which happily the Physicians report that there is no real cause, and it would be extremely difficult to word any written document so that it might not be liable to misconstruction.

Probably the mere promulgation in Society, in ordinary conversation, of the facts as they are, might be the easiest and safest mode of allowing them to become public; but if you should think it desirable that these opinions should be made more publicly known, the Queen would have no objection.

C. B. PHIPPS.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Lither Grove
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER III

Early in January, 1864, Prussia and Austria, under Bismarck's leadership, agreed on a joint Danish policy. An ultimatum was to be sent to Copenhagen demanding the revocation within forty-eight hours of the new constitution; and on its rejection Schleswig was to be immediately occupied by the two Powers as a pledge for the fulfilment of Denmark's obligations. The future of Schleswig and Holstein was to be decided by the two Powers, but the succession of Christian IX to the Danish Monarchy in all its sections should be upheld. The Diet, dominated by the friends of the Augustenburg claims, refused to assent to this policy; but Prussia and Austria proceeded to enforce it in arms. The ultimatum was sent on 16th January, and rejected by the Danish Ministry of Bishop Monrad. The frontier of Schleswig was crossed by the Allied Troops on 1st February; within a few days the Danes evacuated, after slight resistance, the Dannewerke, a line of forts in the south of the duchy; and before the end of the month the invaders had overrun Schleswig, and even penetrated into Jutland, a considerable part of which was occupied early in March and subjected to heavy forced contributions. The troops had masked in their passage the strongly fortified position of Düppel, the bridge-head of the island of Alsen. In March and April siege operations were undertaken; and Düppel was captured by storm on 18th April.

Throughout these early months Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell were eager to intervene on behalf of Denmark, and Lord Russell made many proposals which never took effect. But Queen Victoria and the majority of the Cabinet were resolved that Great Britain should not be dragged into a war with Germany over the question; and none of the other Great Powers showed any disposition to move. With a view to produce a definite and agreed settlement, a conference, proposed on 20th January by Lord Russell, of the Powers which signed the Treaty of 1852, ultimately assembled in London on 25th April; by which time the whole of the disputed terri-

tory except Alsen was in the hands of the German Powers. The first task of the Conference was to arrange an armistice, which was effected after considerable difficulty; but this proved to be the sole result. The Prussians, now that German troops held the field, repudiated the Treaty of 1852, and proposed the complete political independence of the duchies with common institutions, which the Danes declined to consider. Lord Russell, as the only practical solution, proposed the partition of Schleswig according to nationalities; but the Prussians and Danes could not agree upon a line; and a further proposal by Lord Russell to refer the frontier-line to the arbitration of a friendly Power was only conditionally accepted by the German Powers and definitely rejected by the Danes. The Conference was thus abortive; Denmark had proved as obstinate as Prussia was determined. The majority in the British Cabinet, strongly supported by the Queen, succeeded in making their views prevail; and the debates in Parliament at the beginning of July showed that Great Britain, however sympathetic with Denmark, had definitely resolved on a policy of non-intervention. The Queen's attitude, however, provoked some public criticism, notably by Lord Ellenborough in the House of Lords.

The armistice having ended and the Conference having broken down, the Prussians effected a landing in Alsen on 29th June, and drove the Danes out of the island; and the Allied forces also speedily occupied the remainder of Jutland. Nothing remained for the Danes but to accept the terms of the Allied Powers, and cede to them the whole of Schleswig and Holstein, which was done by treaty signed at Vienna in the autumn. No provision for the eventual government of the duchies was made in the Treaty.

Though no decisive result was reached even this year in the Civil War in America, the steadfastness of President Lincoln and the military genius of General Sherman and General Grant began to wear down the Confederate resistance; and on 19th June the Confederate cruiser *Alabama*, which had been for a couple of years the terror of Federal commerce, was destroyed in the English Channel off Cherbourg by the Federal ship *Kearsarge*. The Grand Duke Maximilian went in the spring to Mexico, and on 28th May issued his proclamation to the Mexican people as Emperor.

General Garibaldi came to England in April, and was enthusiastically received both by Society and by the people.

He was entertained by Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, and the Prince of Wales paid him a visit; but the Queen highly disapproved of the almost royal honours which were rendered to the revolutionary leader.

The Schleswig-Holstein question was not the only one on which the British Cabinet was divided. There were somewhat acute controversies between Mr. Gladstone and Lord Palmerston, both over Parliamentary Reform and over the National Defences. Two Ministers outside the Cabinet were driven this session to resignation: Mr. Stansfeld, Junior Lord of the Admiralty, because he had allowed his private house to be made use of by Mazzini for correspondence under a feigned name; Mr. Lowe, Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, because the House of Commons had virtually censured him by passing on 12th April, on Lord Robert Cecil's motion, a resolution condemning the "mutilation," before publication, of the reports of the Inspectors of Education. Subsequently a Committee of the House, which was appointed to investigate the matter, found that there was no "mutilation" or improper alteration at all; and the House of Commons unanimously rescinded the resolution.

During this year the seclusion in which the Queen, despite one or two minor appearances in public, continued to live, and her complete abstention from State ceremonies, began to cause some murmuring and discontent among her subjects; and on 1st April *The Times* printed a leading article remonstrating with her Majesty. To this the Queen herself replied in an unsigned *communiqué* brought by General Grey to Mr. Delane, the Editor, and published on 6th April, explaining that, while her Majesty would meet the loyal wishes of her subjects as far as she could, the important and incessant duties of government which she regularly performed were as much as her impaired health could undertake, and that she could not undergo, in addition, the fatigue of State ceremonies which could equally well be performed by other members of her family. *The Times* published a further and still more direct remonstrance in connection with the third anniversary of the Prince Consort's death in December, and other public journals wrote to the same effect; but her Majesty could not be moved.

Prince Albert Victor, eldest son of the Prince and Princess of Wales, was born, prematurely, on 8th January.

CHAPTER III

1864

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

Osborne, 1*st Jan.* 1864.—The subject on which the Cabinet is to meet to-morrow is so important, and the possible consequences of the course on which it may decide so serious, that the Queen, in her anxiety lest England should become involved in any war that may ensue between Germany and Denmark, must again write to Lord Russell, asking him to show her letter to the Cabinet.

The Queen regrets that the Governments of Austria and Prussia should have thought themselves justified by the conduct of Denmark, with respect to the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, in withholding their unconditional recognition of King Christian IX, according to the stipulations of the Treaty of London. And she regrets still more the extreme course pursued by the Minor States of Germany, and more especially by those which had acceded to that Treaty.

But she thinks the following considerations should be borne in mind :

1. Denmark is admitted to have glaringly violated, as regards both Holstein and Schleswig, not only the specific engagements contracted by her with Austria and Prussia in 1852, but the promises and assurances repeatedly given by her to the German Powers since 1848, that she would respect the ancient Rights and Privileges of those Duchies.

2. The right of the German Confederation to interfere in Holstein—a Federal State—is not disputed; nor that just grounds exist for such interference.

3. Austria and Prussia have farther, by the admission of the English Government, an international right to demand the fulfilment of engagements internationally contracted with them by Denmark, with regard to Schleswig; and if these engagements are not only not fulfilled, but directly violated, to consider such violation a direct and just cause of war.

4. The new order of succession cannot be said to have been legally established, either in Holstein or Schleswig. It was never submitted to the States of either of those Duchies, nor accepted by the people.

If, therefore, the people of those Duchies, taking advantage of the presence of the Federal Troops, shall declare in favour of the Prince of Augustenburg, much as the Queen may regret that the arrangements of 1852 (which, however, she and the beloved Prince Consort always deprecated as unjust) should not be carried into effect, she can never consent to become a party to a war undertaken for the purpose of imposing upon those people a Sovereign whom they violate no engagement or allegiance in rejecting.

Nor, should war ensue between the German Powers and Denmark, in consequence of the violation by the latter of her promises respecting Schleswig, could the Queen consider that any obligation rested upon England to come to the assistance of Denmark.

The Queen hopes her Ministers will give these considerations their most serious attention; for she must repeat that she will not willingly give her consent to any course which may tend to involve England in war on this question.

The Queen trusts, however, that the Conference which has been proposed for the settlement of the question may be agreed to, and that it may succeed in effecting such a compromise as will be satisfactory

on both sides; and in the meantime she hopes the Federal troops will not cross the Eider,[1] and that thus hostilities may be avoided.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

BROADLANDS, *4th Jan.* 1863 [? 1864].—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has read with great attention your Majesty's letter to the Cabinet on the differences between Germany and Denmark. Viscount Palmerston can quite understand your Majesty's reluctance to take any active part in measures in any conflict against Germany, but he is sure that your Majesty will never forget that you are Sovereign of Great Britain, and that the honour of your Majesty's Crown and the interests of your Majesty's dominions will always be the guide of your Majesty's conduct, as they must always be of your Majesty's responsible advisers.

The Minor States of Germany are entitled to every just consideration, but they have no exclusive[2] privilege of violence, injustice, perfidy, and wrong. The conduct of some of those States, and especially of Saxony, has been disgraceful. Austria and Prussia have merely shown moral weakness, and have been calling loudly on England for moral support to enable them to be true to their Treaty engagements. The pretensions of the Duke of Augustenburg are a barefaced attempt at usurpation, doubly scandalous because his family received money compensation for their renunciation.

Your Majesty says that the people of Holstein and Schleswig were not consulted about the succession. Have they formally remonstrated during the ten years which have elapsed since the Treaty? and how many of the territories held by the European

[1] The River Eider, through most of its course, formed the boundary between Schleswig and Holstein.

[2] Writing next day to correct a slip of the pen, Lord Palmerston states that "exclusive" should be left out, or "peculiar" substituted for it.

States under the Treaty of Vienna were assigned to them subject to popular appeal? The answer is, *none*. What Sovereign is there in Europe, your Majesty not excluded, in some parts of whose dominions a set of factious demagogues, acting from without as well as from within, might not raise a local cry for separation and for transfer to some other authority? If the theories now put forward in Germany were to be admitted, they might be applied to break into fragments every European State.

But fortunately the present state of these matters admits of an easy and just solution. All question between Germany and Denmark as to Holstein is at an end, by the revocation of the Patent of March 1863; there remains the question about the application to Schleswig of the Constitution of last November.[1] The King of Denmark is bound to revoke that Constitution as far as it applies to Schleswig, though it was the height of injustice, aggravated by mockery, to call upon him to perform an obvious impossibility and to revoke it by the first of this month.

The revocation can only be effected by the Danish Parliament in a constitutional way, and no doubt that revocation will be made. When that is done, all the just demands of Germany will have been satisfied; the Federal troops should be withdrawn from Holstein, the Danish troops should then re-enter and re-establish the authority of the King of Denmark, who should grant a full and complete amnesty as to everything done by any of his Holstein subjects during the Federal occupation.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.*

OSBORNE, *5th Jan.* 1864.—The Queen has received Lord Palmerston's letter.

It is because she feels strongly the responsibility as Queen of these realms that she is anxious to avoid

[1] For the Patent of March 1863 and the Constitution of November 1863, see the Introductory Note to ch. 2.

their being hurried into an unnecessary war; and no feeling for Germany could ever make her view an international question otherwise than as it might affect the interests of the people of England, although it would certainly make her deeply feel language of an unnecessary violence when used towards the rulers and people of that country.

Sir Charles Phipps to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE COTTAGE, *7th Jan.* 1863 [? 1864].—Sir Charles Phipps presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He had a long conversation last night with Lord Granville, who had come direct from Broadlands. He said that he had told Lord Palmerston that what he strongly objected to, and could not concur in, would be the plunging this country into a war for the maintenance of the Treaty of 1852; and that Lord Palmerston had assured him "*that there was no question whatever of England going to war.*"

Lord Granville will himself tell your Majesty this. At the same time it appears to be necessary to strengthen the hands of Prussia and Austria in their endeavours to keep the smaller States and the Diet within bounds.

Lord Granville said that he found Lord Palmerston in a very irritable state, from a painful fit of the gout; and he attributes the tone of his letter entirely to this physical cause.

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Coburg.

[*Translation.*] *8th January* 1864.

DEAR ERNEST,—I asked Alexandrine to thank you provisionally for your various letters of the 25th, and even to-day I can answer only one letter, the one with the enclosed *mémoire* on the present position of affairs in the German-Danish question. I have sent the latter to Lord Russell according to your wishes.

You will easily understand, dear Ernest, that I can answer such a communication (whatever my personal feelings may be) only with the consent of my Government. You seem to have overlooked entirely the fact that England is bound by the Treaty of 1852; and, however much I may regret the manner and conditions in which this Treaty was concluded, the Government of this country has no alternative but to stand by it. Our dear Albert would not have been able to act otherwise. All my endeavours and those of my Government have been directed only towards the maintenance of peace.

I cannot refrain from adding that I have been greatly troubled by the premature and hasty actions of some South-German Governments, and especially of yours among them, and how much I regret that a way has been opened which threatens not only to disturb the universal peace of Europe, but also to involve Germany in revolution and civil war.

May God grant my earnest prayer for the maintenance of peace! The prayers of my Angel also certainly come before God, and they are of much more value than ours. . . .

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.
[*Copy.*]

Osborne, *8th Jan.* 1864.—The Queen has read with the greatest alarm and astonishment the draft of a despatch to Sir A. Buchanan and Lord Bloomfield in which Lord Russell informs them that he has stated in conversation to Count Bernstorff that, in the event of the occupation of Schleswig by Prussia to obtain a guarantee for the withdrawal of the proclamation of the joint Constitution, Denmark would resist such an occupation and that Great Britain would aid her in that resistance. The Queen has never given her sanction to any such threat, nor does it appear to agree with the decision arrived at by the Cabinet upon this question.

The occupation of Schleswig by the Prussian

troops may be commenced any day, and if resistance is to be made it must be immediate upon the invasion, and take place upon the frontier.

England cannot be committed to assist Denmark in such a collision, which would be an entirely different contingency from that assumed in Lord Russell's draft (as arranged at the Cabinet), in which the German forces would place the Duchy of Schleswig in the possession of the Duke of Augustenburg. The occupation of Schleswig by the Federal troops, if it takes place, would be for the purpose of obtaining a guarantee for the withdrawal of an illegal incorporation of that Duchy with Denmark, which Great Britain has throughout declared ought to be withdrawn, and it appears to the Queen that, of all pleas for plunging this country into war, this would therefore be the least defensible.

The point at issue has besides no reference to the provisions of the Treaty of 1852 ; but, on the contrary, the demand to King Christian, for the withdrawal of the proclamation of the joint Constitution, could only be made upon the admission that he had succeeded to the Government of Schleswig.

The Queen has declared that she will not sanction the infliction upon her subjects of all the horrors of war, for the purpose of becoming a partisan in a quarrel in which both parties are much in the wrong. She cannot allow a decision of such fearful importance to be thus incidentally arrived at, and she appeals to Lord Palmerston to prevent such rash declarations at the moment when her Government are proposing to the other signatories of the Treaty of 1852, equally concerned with herself in maintaining its stipulations, a deliberate and careful examination of the question in all its bearings, with a view to its peaceable solution.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

BROADLANDS, *8th Jan.* 1864.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and

has had the honour of receiving your Majesty's communication of this day upon the subject of Lord Russell's accompanying draft. Your Majesty will perceive that the passage in the second page to which your Majesty objects is not the report of a statement made by Lord Russell to Count Bernstorff at the interview to which the despatch relates, but purports to be a statement then made by Count Bernstorff of what he understood Lord Russell to have said upon some former occasion, with regard to which Count Bernstorff's memory might be right or wrong, and it is probable that Count Bernstorff may have understood as a positive declaration that which was only the indication of a possible one. Lord Russell is of course well aware that an actual decision on such a matter as that in question does not rest with any single member of the Government, but with the Cabinet and with your Majesty. The passage might be set right by substituting the word "might" for the word "would," or the whole of the sentence after the word "occupation" down to the words "Her Majesty's Government" might be left out.

As to the statement that Denmark would resist the invasion of Schleswig, that is merely the statement of what would certainly happen unless the invading force were so great as to be irresistible; but the Danes are a brave and noble race, and would probably fight against any odds. Your Majesty deprecates the horrors of war; but the Germans at this moment seem bent upon wantonly inflicting those horrors, whatever they may be, upon the unoffending and peaceful Danish population of the Duchy of Schleswig. The Germans are acting like a strong man who thinks he has got a weak man in a corner, and that he can bully and beat him to his heart's content. But that is not the conduct of brave or generous minds, and it sometimes happens in real life, as it does in a romance, that the wicked giant finds that his intended victim meets with unlooked-for support. Lord Russell stated to Count

Bernstorff in the latter part of his conversation that "in his own opinion England could not consistently with her honour allow Denmark to perish without aiding in her defence." It seems to Viscount Palmerston that Lord Russell was perfectly justified in thus stating his own personal opinion; in that opinion Viscount Palmerston heartily concurs, and he is persuaded that it would be shared by every impartial and right-minded man in your Majesty's dominions.

Your Majesty seems to consider an invasion of Schleswig, part of the Danish dominions, for the ostensible purpose of taking a material guarantee for the revocation, as regards Schleswig, of the Constitution of last November, as a natural and legitimate proceeding; but does not your Majesty remember that it was a similar proceeding by Russia, when she invaded the Danube Principalities as a material guarantee, that roused the indignation of Europe, drew down the condemnation of Great Britain, and led directly to the war against Russia? There cannot be a principle more dangerous to the maintenance of peace, or more fatal to the independence of the weaker Powers, than that it should be lawful for a stronger Power, whenever it has a demand upon a feebler neighbour, to seize hold of part of its territory by force of arms, instead of seeking redress in the usual way of negotiation; and the day might come when such a principle, established by Prussia, might be fatally retorted upon her by France, by the seizure of the Prussian Rhenish provinces.

Prussia might indeed say that she has made the demand and has not obtained redress; but the demand made in December that the Constitution should be revoked by the first of January, when it was plain to the commonest understanding that what was asked was an absolute impossibility, was only setting up a mockery as an apology for an outrage. The Germans are already wrong-doers in Holstein, where they have no legal right to be. Execution in Holstein

was decreed in order to obtain the revocation of the Patent of March 1863; that Patent was revoked before Execution took place, and the revocation ought to have stopped Execution. But violent ambition and restless bad faith prevailed, and Execution, though become utterly groundless and illegal, was made. And for what real motive? in order to hold Holstein till the Diet can determine who is the legitimate Duke of Holstein? But the Diet has no more right or competence to decide that question than to decide who shall be Emperor of Austria or who shall be Sovereign of England. There is nothing whatever in the Federal Act of 1815, or in the final Act of 1820, which invests the Diet with the power which it thus assumes. The treacherous manner in which that illegal occupation of Holstein under the name of Execution has been made use of for the purpose of endeavouring to revolutionise the Duchy has been so well stated in Lord Russell's despatch that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it; but no one could wonder if, after such an example of perfidy, the Danes should determine to make every possible effort to prevent a similar course from being pursued in Schleswig.

Your Majesty seems to suppose that the whole question as to War or Peace, as arising out of a German invasion of Schleswig, would be settled on the frontier, and that, if no resistance were made, or if resistance were overcome, there would be no possibility of friendly assistance to the Danes. But Viscount Palmerston would beg to submit that the course of things would be very different. Assuming that the Prussians entered Schleswig and obtained possession of it, as what is called a material guarantee for the compliance of Denmark in a just demand for the revocation of the Schleswig Constitution, it is to be observed that such an invasion would rouse the national pride of the Danes, and would make it more difficult for the Danish Parliament, by whom alone the revocation can be made, to yield to demands

made at the point of the bayonet, than to concede to the friendly advice of allied Powers.

It is possible that the Germans see this and that it is with them a motive for action, as they evidently seek, not a settlement, but a quarrel. But, Schleswig once occupied by German troops, new and unjust demands would be made upon Denmark, with which Denmark could not be advised to comply, and revolutionary movements would have been excited in Schleswig, as in Holstein, under the shelter of the German troops.

The Germans, that is to say the Prussians, would then be summoned to go out of Schleswig, the Constitution having been legally and constitutionally repealed and the original pretence for invasion having ceased. Prussia would refuse, as Russia refused to go out of the Danube Principalities, and France, seeing the advantage which such a state of things afforded her, would turn against Prussia the example thus set by Prussia, and occupy as a material guarantee the Prussian Rhenish provinces; following in all things the example set her by Germany, and getting up in those provinces demonstrations in favour of union with France. England could not under such circumstances lend any assistance to Prussia, and Prussia would pay a heavy penalty for her want of good faith.

The whole French nation would be as clamorous for the Rhine as the Germans are for what they call Schleswig-Holstein; and, disunited and unorganised as the German armies are, the frontier of the Rhine would be finally obtained by France.

Your Majesty says you are desirous of not inflicting on your Majesty's subjects *the horrors of war*; fortunately for the people of your Majesty's dominions their insular position secures them from those horrors. But the course now pursued and further intended by Germany has a direct tendency to bring down those horrors upon the German nation, and the policy recommended to your Majesty has a direct tendency to avert such a calamitous result.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Draft.*]

FROGMORE, 10*th Jan.* 1864.—The Queen has received Lord Palmerston's letter.

He will agree with her that no good could result from her entering into a discussion with him as to the relative merits of the conduct of Germany or Denmark.

Lord Russell states in his despatch that he had wondered at the patience shown by Germany during eleven years of ill-usage of his German subjects by the late King; but this patience formed a striking contrast to the impatience shown during the short time in which the present King has been upon the Throne.

That is a statement to which the Queen will make no objection, though there are many reasons for this conduct. But the Queen considered and considers it to be her duty to remonstrate against the declaration by Lord Russell to the Prussian Ambassador that Great Britain would assist Denmark in resistance to occupation of Schleswig by the Prussian troops. Such resistance, wherever it took place, would be war, and the assistance of England would involve her in that war.

His declaration of assistance was stated to have been made without the sanction of the Queen or the concurrence of the Cabinet, and she felt herself compelled to call Lord Palmerston's attention to it; but she certainly had neither the intention nor desire to enter into any controversy, always disagreeable to her, upon the general merits of the Dano-German question.

Lord Palmerston will not have failed to observe that the conversation, in which Count Bernstorff repeated what Lord Russell had said to him on a former occasion, is reported by Lord Russell to the Queen's Ambassadors at Vienna and Berlin as very interesting, but without any denial of its accuracy,

or retractation; and her representatives at those Courts might therefore undoubtedly have been led to believe that this was the decision at which the Queen and her Government had arrived.

The Queen thinks that this draft should be brought before the Cabinet for their consideration.

Earl Granville to Sir Charles Phipps.

Private. LONDON, 12*th January* 1864.

MY DEAR PHIPPS,—We had a great tussle about the despatch. It was compromised by Lord Russell agreeing to leave out those sentences which declared his opinion as to the course England would take.

The Cabinet agreed unanimously to what had been decided upon last Monday, viz. to enquire from the co-signatories of the Treaty whether they would agree to declare their determination, in case Denmark cancelled the Constitution of November, not to allow the invasion of Schleswig and the dismemberment of the Danish Kingdom, under the Treaty of 1852.

There are some disadvantages in this course. Probably the other Powers will not agree—and it would be disagreeable and full of risk if France was at war with Germany; but such a declaration from all the Powers, coinciding with the wishes of Austria, could hardly fail of having the desired effect. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Palmerston did not look very well.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 13*th January* 1864.

MY DEAR BERTIE,—Safely arrived here two hours ago. All that has passed, these four last days,[1] seems like a dream to me; and this dream is one which I like to dwell on, though it did not, could not, bring

[1] Prince Albert Victor, the Prince and Princess of Wales's first child, was born, prematurely, on the 8th January at Frogmore. Queen Victoria came to the Princess at once, and remained some days with her.

back my Angel, and I am *ever, ever* lonely, but I thank God that he preserved our precious Alix, for that she is, and I can't say *how* I love her, how glad I shall be to do anything for that sweet, dear creature, and it was a great mercy that she *has* been preserved, for there *was* great danger in such a premature and rapid confinement; and how deep is the interest I take in the dear, pretty, little baby. May God bless him and may he be, as Vicky and Alice both say, "a real grandson of adored Papa"! I like to think I was of some use to you both, in many of the little arrangements, and little hitches, which I hope now are all smoothed down.

I wish now to say a few words again about the *names, sponsors,* and *christening.* I will begin with the last, that is to say, that though I should for myself prefer its being at Windsor, which is now associated with so much that is precious to me, I quite agree to its being best for the people of London that they should *not* be deprived of the honour and gratification of having *some event* in town; and by having it, as all our christenings but *two* were, in the private chapel at Buckingham Palace, I think I shall be able to be present, and hold the dear baby myself, D.V., which, trying though it will be, *I wish to do.*[1] Don't think of settling the time for it, till you have consulted the doctors, Dr. Farre, Sir James, etc.; for with so small a child, who won't be at its full size for six weeks, the christening ought rather to be delayed; ours were generally nearly two months old, and I think you would find it would be safer for the baby, if that were the case.

As regards the *names,* if others besides *Albert Victor* are added (which *I* don't the least *object to*), you must take dear Uncle Leopold's also. You could not give King Christian's and the Landgrave's without also giving Uncle Leopold's. I would advise reserving *Edward* for a second or third son.[2]

[1] This arrangement was duly carried out on the 10th March.
[2] The names actually given were Albert Victor Christian Edward.

Respecting the *sponsors*, the only ones besides your own old Mama, whom I am *positive* you ought to have, are *Uncle Leopold, King Christian, Aunt Alexandrine, and Vicky*. I know what heartburnings these sponsorships cause, and in this case Aunt Alexandrine is quite a necessity; moreover, she is so kind and good, loves you so much, and has written me such a kind letter, that she deserves it. Vicky, as your eldest sister, and the real cause of your happiness, ought not to be overlooked. I mention all these facts to enable you to think well over it. . . .

Respecting your own names, and the conversation we had, I wish to repeat, that it was beloved Papa's wish, as well as mine, that you should be called by *both*, when you became King, and it would be *impossible* for you to *drop* your Father's. It would be monstrous, and *Albert alone*, as you truly and amiably say, would *not do*, as there can be only *one* ALBERT! You will begin a new line, as much as the Tudors and Brunswicks, for it will be the *Saxe-Coburg* line united with the *Brunswick*, and the *two united names* will mark it, in the way we all wish, and *your* son will be known by the two others, as you are by *Albert Edward*.

My thoughts are much, very much with you all. . . . God bless and protect you. Everyone is full of enquiries. My head is well again.—V. R.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

FROGMORE, 15*th Jan.* 1864.— . . . Regarding the possibility of my ever filling that high position, which God grant may be far, very far distant, I quite understand your wishes about my bearing my two names, although no English Sovereign has ever done so yet, and you will agree with me that it would not be pleasant to be like "Louis Napoleon," "Victor Emmanuel," "Charles Albert," etc., although no doubt there is no absolute reason why it should not be so. . . .

Earl Granville to Sir Charles Phipps.

KIMBOLTON CASTLE, *14th January* 1864.

MY DEAR PHIPPS,—Lord Palmerston was at the Cabinet. I wrote a note not intended as a regular report to the Queen, but merely informing you of what had taken place, in case the Queen wished to know anything about it from an impartial person. Lord John was a good deal annoyed, and once or twice alluded to not choosing to go on, if the Cabinet did not approve of his policy. Lord Palmerston supported Lord John strongly, but I got him to repeat before the Cabinet what he had stated to me at Broadlands, viz. that there was no question of our going to war single-handed.

I should presume that when a Cabinet is held without the Prime Minister, and the subject discussed is exclusively Foreign Affairs, it would be for the Foreign Secretary to state the result to the Queen; but I will obey any orders that may be sent me, when such a case arises. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Queen Victoria to the Crown Princess of Prussia.
[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, *27th Jan.* 1864.— . . . With regard to this sad S. Holstein question, I can really speak with more thorough impartiality than anyone (and that the dear Crown Prince can bear witness to); my heart and sympathies are all German. I condemn the Treaty of '52 completely, but once signed we cannot upset it without first trying (*not* by war) to maintain it, and this adored Papa would have felt and did feel, for all his efforts were directed only to the carrying out by the Danes of the promises made to Germany in '51 and '52. Where I do, however, blame Germany is in their wanting the two great Powers to break their engagements, and in not being contented with all the rights of the Duchies being obtained. They have mixed up the two questions, and gone so violently mad upon the subject, that they

lose sight of the far greater evils which may be produced by provoking war. And depend upon it that the want of forbearance now towards the King of Denmark—now that he means to do all he can, at the risk almost of his Crown—will and must have a very bad effect in Europe and injure the just cause of Germany. That England is detested I know, alas! too well; but I must bear it, as many other trials and sorrows, with patience; and continue to do all I can to prevent further irritation and in future to avoid further complications. I am glad darling Papa is spared this worry and annoyance, for he could have done even less than I can.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, *2nd Feb.* 1864.—The Queen approves the suppression of the paragraph she objected to. She is relieved at Lord Palmerston's not undertaking the journey here to-morrow, on the eve of the opening of Parliament, as she dreaded his catching cold, or bringing on a fresh attack of gout, when all his strength and vigour are required to meet the fatigues of the Session.

As the Queen will, however, not see Lord Palmerston, she wishes to tell him, *in confidence*, that, when she saw Lord Derby[1] the other day, she took an opportunity of telling him how important she thought it, that this unlucky and difficult question of Schleswig-Holstein should not be made a party one—in which he entirely agreed, and added he thought it absolutely necessary that *all* parties should be extremely cautious in their language in Parliament on this subject.

The Queen feels sure Lord Palmerston will fully concur in this, and that she need not impress this further on himself and the other members of the Government.

[1] The Queen had invited Lord Derby to Osborne, in order to impress her views of the Schleswig-Holstein question upon the Leader of the Opposition.

The quarrel is *now* beyond our reach,[1] and we must wait to see the march of events. A time will very soon arrive, when our advice, and possibly our mediation, will be asked; and if it is given with perfect impartiality, and a due regard to the interests of all parties, and the wishes and rights of the peoples concerned, [it] may conduce to the peace and permanent security of Europe.

But till this time arrives, the Queen cannot but think that far the most dignified course for England will be to remain passive. The Queen would wish Lord Palmerston to let Lord Russell see this letter.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

[*Extract.*]

Laeken, *2nd Feb.* 1864.— . . . Only now for a few words about Schleswig-Holstein. The poor King of Prussia wanted war, Fritz and Vicky did the same.

Austria was pushed into it by a wish not to let an affair, which renders Germany nearly mad, go out of its legitimate influence, and by acting *with* Prussia to keep affairs in a more moderate line.

It is very unpleasant for the poor King of Denmark, but the incorporation of Schleswig must be done away with. The two great Powers, by taking the Schleswig question alone in their hands, have prevented the revolutionary movement from taking possession of the Duchy; and now the moment the Danes give to Schleswig what ought to have been put into the Treaty of 1852 *as a condition* (!) the two great Powers may be induced to evacuate Schleswig. One great difficulty will perhaps in this way be spared to England, viz. a revolutionary anti-Danish movement, which, according to the principles adopted in Italy, could hardly have been repressed by force with the consent of England.

[1] Because war had begun and the German forces had invaded Schleswig on the previous day.

The German "*Révolutionnaires*," with good Ernest at their head, wished to conquer Schleswig and annex it to Germany; now really under existing circumstances this would be unjustifiable, and would open the door for consequences of an importance leaving old Schleswig with its *Platt-Deutsch* far, far behind. The only possibility to get now logically out of the difficulty is the giving up by the Danes of the incorporation of Schleswig, and their giving what clearly had been promised by them.

The moment this is done, Austria and Prussia can and must be summoned to evacuate Schleswig. Holstein is German, what they will do there I can hardly guess. Glücksburg, the King's brother, is arrived here. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, 13*th Feb.* 1864.—The Queen does not exactly see the object of this draft.

The simple answer to Prince Gortchakoff's enquiries on the subject of the despatches to which Lord Napier alludes, would be that the proposals contained in them were conditional on their being agreed to by all the Powers to whom they were addressed. Not being accepted by France and Russia, they fell to the ground.

But the last paragraph of this draft seems to imply a renewed proposal to Russia to give material aid to Denmark, and to this the Queen *must* object.

Lord Russell already knows that she will *never*, if she can prevent it, allow this country to be involved in a war in which *no English* interests are concerned.

The Queen observes with regret the wild and violent advice suggested by Lord Napier—so little calculated to *maintain* the peace of Europe *in general*, which must be our *first* object—and which is very different from the language used by her other Ambassadors.

H. M. Leopold I. King of the Belgians.
From a miniature at Windsor.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Earl Granville to General Grey.

Confidential. 16 Bruton Street, 13*th February* 1862 [? 1864].

My dear Grey,—I got your letter after the Cabinet this evening.

Lord Russell read us on Wednesday the queries of Russia in answer to a despatch of some time ago. We laughed, and agreed that it was the same answer as our first despatch in answer to the Emperor's proposal for a Congress.

We heard nothing of Lord Russell's proposed rejoinder, and the Queen's observations appear to be perfectly right.

I don't agree with you on many of the questions involved in this deplorable Schleswig-Holstein affair, but I do so entirely as to peace and war.

I have long come to a fixed determination on it, which I know is shared by some of my colleagues.

On the other hand, I think it would weaken the hands of Lord Russell in negotiation to an injurious degree, if any determination of this sort on the part of the Cabinet, or a portion of it, was allowed to be known.

Lord Russell announced his adherence to-day to what he believed to be the doctrine of the Cabinet, viz. that there was no question of our going to war single-handed. I believe Palmerston has no wish to go to war at all. . . .

Napier is clever, but without judgment. It must, however, be said for him that Cowley was using a fortnight ago as foolish language about his wish for material aid to be given to Denmark. The latter has, however, now changed his tone.

It is sad that the Queen should be exposed to so much harassing anxiety. Yours sincerely, Granville.

Derby attended a meeting of the Finance Committee of 1851 this morning, and was very amiable.[1]

[1] The Queen's answer to this letter, dated the 14th February, was published in the *Life of Lord Granville*, vol. i, ch. 16.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

CHESHAM PLACE, 14*th Feb.* 1864.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; the simple object of this draft is to delay any positive answer to Prince Gortchakoff's enquiries.

The Cabinet have never adopted the decision your Majesty seems to suppose, namely, that of making their proposals conditional on the acceptance of all the Powers.

The decision of the Cabinet was, as Lord Russell understood it, to invite concert and co-operation separately from Sweden, Russia, and France, and to reserve entirely the consideration of the effect of those answers when received.

Your Majesty is naturally averse to a war in which no English interest is concerned.

But if English honour were to be concerned your Majesty would no doubt feel bound to defend it. . . .

However, there is not at present on the part of Austria any disposition to dismember the Danish Monarchy, and it is to be hoped that Austrian moderation and good sense will control the violence and extravagance of Prussia.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, 15*th Feb.* 1864.—The Queen has received Lord Russell's letter.

She must observe that she does not require to be reminded of the honour of England, which touches her more nearly than anyone else.

But the Queen also knows what her responsibility is, as the Sovereign of this great country; and she could *never* forgive herself if, for imaginary interests (for she cannot see what *real* ones are involved in this question), or a supposed point of honour (for the honour of England is *not* engaged to maintain by arms an arrangement which we *refused* to guarantee, and which has unluckily led to consequences the very reverse of what was hoped for), she were to

sanction measures which might lead to a European war, or urge France to take part in attacking Germany, thereby encouraging all her ambitious designs, and producing a conflagration all over Europe, which would probably end in general anarchy !

The Queen would not sanction a measure of such a tendency ; and therefore it is that she deprecates any observation (such as that in the last paragraph of this draft) in despatches to her Ambassadors abroad, which might be interpreted as a step in that direction.

If the object is only to postpone giving any positive answer to Prince Gortchakoff, the simple way seems to be to *postpone* sending *any* despatch on the subject.

How dreadfully we must all, but above all, the unhappy Queen, miss now the one wise, far-seeing, and *impartial* head, who would have guided us safely through these difficulties !

16*th Feb.*—This draft seems to the Queen to commit her Government too strongly to the Danish view of the question, and to encourage too much hope of material assistance from England.

The imputation also upon the motives of the German Powers seems impolitic and uncalled for.

At all events the Queen would wish the draft, with this expression of her opinion upon it, to be first considered by the Cabinet, and then submitted to her as approved by them, before it is sent.

The Queen would also wish the accompanying extract from her letter of yesterday to Lord Russell to be communicated to the Cabinet. . . .

The Queen has read with *much* satisfaction Lord Russell's very judicious answer to Lord Campbell.[1]

[1] In which Lord Russell said that, as it was to obtain the fulfilment of Denmark's obligations that Austria and Prussia were entering Schleswig, and as these Powers were conscious that the two duchies could not be transferred to any other Power from the King of Denmark without a general consent and consideration of the European Powers, he deprecated anything in the nature of a threat, and preferred to resort to pacific means.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 17*th Feb.* 1864.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Lord Russell read to the Cabinet this afternoon your Majesty's judicious minutes. He will have told your Majesty that one despatch (to Lord Napier) was given up, and the other (to Sir Augustus Paget) altered to meet your Majesty's views and some further suggestions of the Cabinet. Lord Russell seemed much pleased with your Majesty's praise of his speech on Monday. . . .

There seems no reason to do anything at present in the Schleswig-Holstein affair.

The Duke of Somerset to Queen Victoria.

ADMIRALTY, 21*st Feb.* 1864.—The Duke of Somerset presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to state that it has been deemed advisable by the Cabinet that the Channel Squadron should be ordered home. This order would naturally have been given by the Admiralty in the course of the next fortnight, but as in the meantime it appears not improbable that some hostile operations between Danish and German vessels may take place in the Channel or in the neighbouring seas, it has been thought desirable that your Majesty's ships of war should be at hand to protect British waters and to be available in case any unforeseen contingency should require their presence.

Sir Charles Phipps to the Duke of Somerset.

[*Copy.*]

Private. WINDSOR CASTLE, 22*nd February* 1864.

MY DEAR DUKE,—The Queen desires me to say for her (as she has been unwell all to-day) that she quite approves of the Channel Squadron being ordered home.

Her Majesty at the same time directs me to say that she trusts to you that no further important

orders for this Fleet will be given without her previous knowledge and sanction.—C. B. P.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

Windsor Castle, 22*nd Feb.* 1864.—The tenor of the telegrams sent this morning alarms the Queen very much; and her fears are not diminished by the tone of the communications from her own Government. She is most anxious that the operations of the German Powers should be limited to the object first announced, and quite approves of strong, but not violent, representations being made to them on the subject. But equally strong representations should be made to the Danish Government of the impolicy, not to say folly, of the orders given to their cruisers—and of the expediency of consenting at once (if not to the evacuation of Schleswig, and an Armistice) to the resumption of negotiations by entering into a Conference even pending hostilities.

She has seen with much concern the violent language used in Parliament, and regrets the general one-sided tone of our communications, as *not* calculated, she fears, to incline the German Powers to moderate counsels.

If indeed there had been any intention to attack Copenhagen, the state of affairs would have been different, and such an eventuality would have required the most serious attention of her Government; but as this is totally out of the question, the Queen expects that there will be no change in our present attitude.

She must also insist on no fresh proposals being sent by telegraph to Foreign Governments without her previous sanction.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 Piccadilly, 22*nd Feb.* 1864.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has received the message from your Majesty by

Sir George Grey. Viscount Palmerston can assure your Majesty that he entirely shares your Majesty's anxiety and uneasiness with respect to the state of affairs on the Continent, but being [? is] accustomed and perhaps led by his natural character to hope as long as hope can be entertained. Europe is full of combustible materials like the town of Kagosima,[1] and the typhoon of political passions is ready to blow from one end of Europe to the other the flames of war which have been lit up in Denmark.

Prussia has her dangers, which she seems to undervalue. The French Emperor is holding back to be enabled either to seize the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, or to occupy the Palatinate of Bavaria, or to put himself at the head of a Confederacy of the Rhine, or to co-operate with the Italians against Venetia, or to give countenance and assistance to the Hungarians, or the Galicians, or to support the Moldo-Wallachians and the Servians in a revolt against Turkey, according as one or other of those schemes may in the varying circumstances of the moment seem best adapted to promote the ambitious projects of France; and he feels quite sure that, when the proper moment for action arises, he will have a military force sufficient for any purpose, and that he will be backed up in any aggressive action by the general approval of the French nation. He has hitherto kept himself free from any engagement to co-operate with England, first, because he hoped that England might be led to commit herself by a land operation and thus show to the world the smallness of her military means; and, secondly, because he wished to keep his own hands free to act in any way, and in any place, that might best suit his views, whereas an agreement to concert with England would be an inconvenient shackle upon his motions. For these reasons the French Emperor declined our proposal that he should concert and co-operate with us.

[1] See Introductory Note to ch. 2.

But when a few days ago it was reported that an Austrian fleet was coming to the north, that seemed to Lord Russell and Viscount Palmerston a favourable occasion for renewing, upon a more limited scale and for a purpose purely naval, and entirely protective, the proposal which, with the consent of the Cabinet and of your Majesty, had been made in the more general and comprehensive terms alluded to above. It appears, however, by a telegram from Vienna that the Austrian Government entirely disavow any intention of attacking Zealand or Copenhagen, which, if any such intention were contemplated, Viscount Palmerston would submit it would be disgraceful for England to allow. It is quite intelligible and reasonable that the British Government should hesitate to send 20,000 British troops, and more could not be got together, to face the hundreds of thousands which Germany, if united, could oppose to us; and even with the co-operation of 30,000 Danes and 20,000 Swedes, our aggregate force would not numerically be a match for the enemy, though possibly in a narrow country like Jutland and Schleswig the advantage might be on our side. But that England, the first and greatest Naval Power, should allow an Austrian fleet to sail by our shores, and go and conquer and occupy the island capital of a friendly Power, towards which we are bound by national interests and Treaty engagements, would be a national disgrace to which Viscount Palmerston, at least, never would stoop to be a party. It makes one's blood boil even to think of it; and such an affront England, whether acting alone or with Allies, ought never to permit. There seems however no danger of such an intention on the part of Austria or Prussia at present.

Sir George Grey says that your Majesty observed that Viscount Palmerston spoke in Parliament severely about the Germans, but did not upbraid the Danes who also deserved censure. Viscount Palmerston believes that he has in his place in Parliament

animadverted upon the wrong-doings of the Danes under their late King, and their Minister, Mr. Hall.[1] But under the present King and his present Minister[2] the Danish Government have yielded to and have complied with almost every recommendation made to them from hence; while, on the contrary, Austria and Prussia have refused and rejected every one of the many proposals and recommendations which in the interest of peace the British Government have made to them, and they have steadily pursued their career of aggression and slaughter in spite of every remonstrance—even against those which their inward consciences, if they have any, must have secretly suggested. A distinguished military officer, a friend of Viscount Palmerston, who has served through many a campaign and has trod many a blood-stained field of battle, and is no sentimentalist, declared the other day that the proceedings of the two German Powers are actual murder and nothing else.

The Danes have, on the advice of the British Government, revoked the objectionable Patent of March 1863 for Holstein; they evacuated, at our suggestion, Holstein without striking a blow; they have changed their Ministry and have got rid of that bane of Denmark, Mr. Hall; and they have promised to take the earliest steps legally to revoke the Schleswig Constitution. Your Majesty's Government could not advise them to give up Schleswig without resistance, because such a course would have been unworthy and would certainly not have been adopted.

If the Germans had been contented with occupying the southern strip of Schleswig, between the Eider and the Schlei, the Danes might possibly have acquiesced; but when the Germans began to attack and cannonade forts, and to seize strongholds, it became obviously impossible for the Danes not to return blow for blow and shot for shot.

[1] The Minister responsible for the March Patent and the November Constitution.

[2] Bishop Monrad.

These things certainly look very threateningly; but while there's life there's hope, and it is still possible that the friendly counsels of your Majesty and your Government, and the growing sense on the part of Austria and Prussia of the dangers they are bringing down upon their own heads, may somehow or other bring matters to a better end than at present appears probable. All will depend upon the good faith with which Austria and Prussia may stand by the Treaty of 1852. If they will be content with the revocation of the Schleswig Constitution, and with just measures by Denmark for putting her German and Danish subjects in Schleswig upon a perfect footing of civil, religious, and political equality, all may be well; but if they start new demands to which the Danish Government will not and cannot accede, it is difficult to say what embarrassments and evil consequences may follow.

If Venetia were added to the Kingdom of Italy by force of arms, the only regret felt in England would be that Austria did not, when she might have done so, accept a large pecuniary compensation. If the Rhenish provinces of Prussia should be added to France, everybody in England would say that it served Prussia right; but everybody would feel that it was a severe blow to English interests through such a change in the balance of Power. If Denmark was to be dismembered, and part were to go to Germany and part form a Scandinavian Kingdom, all Treaties might be thrown into the fire as waste paper, or used to wrap up cartridges, and English interests would be endangered by the keys of the Baltic being in the hands of one single Power, and that Power ruled by a Sovereign by race and descent a Frenchman.[1] If Saxony were to be ate up by Prussia, people would say that Saxony deserved its fate, and that Prussia was only pursuing the career of aggression and injustice by which she has

[1] The King of Sweden was descended from Marshal Bernadotte.

become a considerable European Power. But it is vain to speculate on the future; enough for the day is the evil thereof.

Sir Charles Phipps to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Copy.*]

Private. WINDSOR CASTLE, 22*nd February* 1864.

MY DEAR LORD PALMERSTON,—The Queen has been unwell all day to-day, suffering from a very bad headache, and has directed me to acknowledge, for her, the receipt of your letter of to-day; as she is quite unable to write herself.

Her Majesty directs me only to add that her Majesty's sole wish and endeavour is to prevent, if possible, a general war, and to obtain such a settlement of the differences between Germany and Denmark as may ensure the best probability of a secure and lasting peace.—C. B. P.

Memorandum by General Grey.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 25*th Feb.* 1864.—The Cabinet met yesterday to consider the communications made by telegram to Russia and France, with a view to a joint naval demonstration in the Baltic, which should deter the "Enemies of Denmark" from any projected attack on Copenhagen. (An absurd report had appeared in the newspapers, that Austria meant to send her Fleet (?) there!)

These communications had been made without the previous consent of the Cabinet, or the Queen's sanction; the only resolution adopted by the Cabinet respecting the Fleet, and duly reported to the Queen by the Duke of Somerset, and approved of by her Majesty, being that it should be ordered home, in case its presence should be necessary to protect British commerce in the Channel, and to be ready for any contingencies.

On receiving a copy of the telegram which had been sent to St. Petersburg with the proposal of a

naval demonstration, the Queen desired Lord Russell, by telegraph, to send another, desiring Lord Napier not to act upon it till he heard again (this was done, but, as afterwards appeared, was too late, the communication having already been made). On the evening of the same day (Monday, 22nd) the Queen received another letter from Lord Russell, saying, amongst other things, that "her Majesty would have heard from Sir George Grey, that the Cabinet thought the Channel Fleet should be ordered to Copenhagen," etc. etc.

The Queen was startled at this communication, directly at variance as it was with the information officially transmitted by the Duke of Somerset, and with what she had heard from Sir George Grey. And yesterday the subject was discussed in the Cabinet.

Mr. Gladstone declared his opinion with great warmth; and the Cabinet was unanimous in condemning the communication that had been made, with the exception of Lord Palmerston and the Chancellor. The Cabinet protested against any step of the kind being taken which would be looked upon as the first step in drifting into war; and particularly against any measure being adopted without previous consultation.

The Duke of Somerset complained of the difficulty in which he was placed by reporting one thing to her Majesty concerning the Fleet, and then finding another thing announced to a foreign Power.

Lord Russell was to inform Russia and France that there is no more question of sending the Fleet to Copenhagen, the contingency which alarmed him not having arisen, viz. the attack upon Copenhagen by the Austrian Fleet (about the most improbable occurrence it is possible to imagine !).

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *25th Feb.* 1864.—The Queen has heard the decision of the Cabinet with much satisfac-

tion and quite approves of the proposed telegram to Lord Cowley and Lord Napier.

The Queen is not apprehensive of any such danger arising; but should it occur she must repeat her wish that no step should be taken without the previous consent of the Cabinet and her own sanction.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *25th February* 1864.

BELOVED UNCLE,—I have *no* letter, which is to me inexplicable! I hope to have one still to-day.

I am wellnigh worn to nothing with vexation, distress, and worry, and I have asked General Grey to tell you all about the conduct of those two dreadful old men. . . .

I long for quiet and peace, and to be enabled to dwell on the blessed future!

I *never* really realised the *power* of prayer till *now*! When in an agony of loneliness, grief, and despair, I kneel by that bed, where *he* left us, decked with flowers, and pray *earnestly* to be enabled to be courageous, patient, and calm, and to be guided by my darling to *do what* HE would wish; then, a calm seems to come over me, a certainty my anguish is seen and heard *not* in vain, and I feel *lifted* ABOVE this miserable earth of sorrows! It is *only* when *one* feels as though *all* were gone, all had deserted you, as I feel *so* often and so *much during* this *terrible crisis*, that one can *truly* appreciate the *power* and strength of prayer, and that one's *faith rises* with one's *utter* prostration of woe! But it is cruel, hard, and fearful, to live in such constant sorrow and anxiety!

You will find me a dull and tiresome companion. I am very weak and shattered, and at night I am obliged to talk very little and generally to be read to after dinner, or I *cannot* sleep. . . .

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, *4th April* 1864.— . . . General Garibaldi landed yesterday at Southampton, and was

to go to-day to Mr. Seely's house in the Isle of Wight, where he is to remain some days. On Saturday next he is to go for a week to Stafford House,[1] in accordance with an invitation given him by the Duke of Sutherland last year, when the Duke, in the course of a yacht excursion in the Mediterranean, passed two days with Garibaldi at Caprera. Garibaldi is then to go to Mr. Seely's house in London. He has received many invitations from large towns in different parts of the country. Good advice has been given and will continue to be given him to avoid getting into the hands of men who would only make him a stepping-stone to get themselves into momentary notoriety, and the simplicity of his character renders him somewhat open to such attempts. His health is said to be improved, and his wound is said to be healed, though his ankle is stiff and he walks with difficulty.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13*th April* 1864.— . . . The Queen much regrets the extravagant excitement respecting Garibaldi, which shows little dignity and discrimination in the nation, and is not very flattering to others who are similarly received.

The Queen fears that the Government may find Garibaldi's views and convictions no little cause of inconvenience with foreign Governments hereafter, and trusts they will be cautious in what they do for him in their official capacity. Brave and honest though he is, he has ever been a revolutionist leader.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 13*th April* 1864.— . . . Lord Russell has seen General Garibaldi this morning. Lord Russell impressed upon him that the policy of England was pacific and that this country would see with regret any attempt on the part of Italy to light up a European war.

[1] Now Lancaster House, and the London Museum.

General Garibaldi said that Lord Palmerston had spoken to him in the same sense; that he had no wish to begin a struggle in Italy or anywhere else; that he was a man of peace. But that he could not help thinking that the Emperor Napoleon, who represented military force, and destruction of all freedom, would finally be at war with England, who represented liberty and justice. That in that case his arm, and that of his friends, would be at the service of England to serve anywhere. That he admired England beyond all the countries in the world.

I thanked him for his friendly sentiments, but said that the English Government hoped the peace would be preserved. He is very frank, and open in countenance and manners.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 13*th April* 1864.— . . . If the bombardment of Sonderburg[1] has raised ill-feeling towards us in England, the most absurd, unjust, rude, and violent attacks—in *The Times* and in Parliament—can only increase the irritation, or rather more contempt, which is expressed in no measured terms here and generally felt for England's position in the Danish question.

But even the French see this and defend us against the really childishly ignorant attacks upon us—in the *Presse* of the 10th.

I can see nothing inhuman or improper in any way in bombardment of Sonderburg; it was necessary, and we hope it has been useful. What would Lord Russell say if we were every instant to make enquiries about what is going on in Japan, where Admiral Kuper was not so intensely scrupulous as to bombardments?[2]

I quite agree with Mr. Bernal Osborne, who calls,

[1] Sonderburg is the town on the island of Alsen covered by the bridgehead of Düppel. See Introductory Note.

[2] See Introductory Note to ch. 2.

in his *most* excellent speech in *The Times* of the 9th, the perpetual unnecessary questions which are asked of us here and at Vienna—"Hysteric fussiness."

The continual meddling and interfering of England in other peoples' affairs has become *so* ridiculous abroad, that it almost ceases to annoy.

But to an English heart it is no pleasant sight to see the dignity of one's country so compromised and let down—its influence so completely lost.

The highly pathetic, philanthropic, and virtuous tone in which all the attacks against Prussia are made has something intensely ludicrous about it. The English would not like, if they were engaged in a war, to be dictated to in a pompous style, how they were to conduct it; indeed I am sure they would not stand such interference. Why should we then be supposed to submit to it? . . .

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 Piccadilly, 18*th April* 1864.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty and begs to state that, at the meeting of the House this afternoon, Mr. Lowe made a statement of the reasons why he had resigned,[1] and at the same time gave an explanation of those official proceedings on his part which had been impugned by Lord Robert Cecil's resolution. The statement was manly, clear, and satisfactory, and was so felt and acknowledged by the House. Lord Robert Cecil, who never loses an opportunity of saying or doing an unhandsome thing, lost a fair opportunity of taking a handsome and generous line, and alone cavilled at and criticised Mr. Lowe's statement. The general opinion of all was that if Mr. Lowe, without resigning, had made that statement and explanation from the Treasury Bench, nothing more would have been said on the subject. After a few words from Viscount Palmerston, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Walter, and some others, the matter was dropped.

[1] See Introductory Note.

Mr. Disraeli then made his announced motion about the five Under-Secretaries,[1] and moved a resolution recording the fact, stating that the law had been violated and that the seat of Lord Hartington, the last appointed, had, by his appointment as fifth, become vacant. Viscount Palmerston admitted the illegality, which had arisen from inadvertence, but observed that the whole House had shared the inadvertence, and especially the Opposition Leader, whose peculiar function it is to watch the conduct of the Government and to remark upon anything faulty. He said that a Bill of Indemnity would be proposed. The Attorney-General explained in detail the state of the law upon the subject, and contended that Lord Hartington's seat had not been rendered vacant. He was followed by Mr. Walpole, who expressed doubts on the subject, and after some further discussion it was agreed that Mr. Disraeli's resolution, which only recorded a fact, should be passed, omitting that part which declared the seat to be vacant, and that a Committee should be appointed to examine the law upon that part of the matter, as to whether the seat has or has not become vacant. Viscount Palmerston believes that there is no ground whatever for assuming that the seat has become vacant. . . .

General Garibaldi has altered his arrangements. He had received invitations from an immense number of towns, to visit them, and those invitations had been accepted by him or for him. But those who have taken an interest about him, and especially Lord Shaftesbury, thought that politically, and with regard to his health, it was very desirable that these visits should not be made. Mr. Ferguson, the surgeon, upon being consulted gave a written opinion that the exertions of mind and body, which such visits would

[1] Mr. Disraeli had called attention to the fact that there were five Under-Secretaries sitting in the House of Commons, whereas it was provided by Statute that only four Secretaries and only four Under-Secretaries should so sit.

involve, would be more than the General in his weak state of health could bear, and upon a consultation of his friends it has been determined that he shall return at once to Caprera, and the Duke of Sutherland, who contemplated a cruise, will embark the General on Friday next in his yacht, and carry him and his two sons back to Caprera. This is on every account a good arrangement.

It has been very useful that General Garibaldi has been taken up by the aristocracy, and has not been left in the hands of agitators who would have endeavoured to use him for their own purposes, and it has afforded great pleasure to the bulk of the nation, as a proof of the community of feeling among all classes of the nation. There is something very attractive in the unassuming simplicity of Garibaldi's character, in the total absence of affectation or conceit or vanity; and, though he is evidently not a man of superior talent, he speaks very sensibly upon general subjects, and has good and generous feelings. He would be ready, no doubt, if his physical health permitted, which is very uncertain, to take up arms to gain for his country Venetia and Rome; but he seems fully aware of the impossibility of attaining those objects at present, and of the evils which would follow an unsuccessful attempt, or a successful attempt which should be rendered successful only by the military assistance of France.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 18*th April* 1864.— . . . Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell think it desirable to ask the Cabinet to advise that your Majesty should empower Lord Russell to ask the Conference[1] at their meeting on Wednesday for an immediate armistice on the ground of present possession. If objected to by Denmark, no assistance to be afforded her; but if objected to by Austria and Prussia, measures to be

[1] An International Conference was about to meet in London on the Schleswig-Holstein question.

consorted with Russia and Sweden, and if possible with France, for sending the British Fleet to the Baltic with orders to wait for instructions when there.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19*th April* 1864.—The Queen has received Lord Russell's letter. She trusts that the fall of Dÿbbol[1] will dispose them better on both sides to agree to an armistice, and she sincerely hopes that it may be one of the first results of the Conference to effect this object.

But the Queen must deprecate strongly the use of the language proposed by Lord Russell. It can only be taken by Austria and Prussia as implying a threat, which it seems at present unnecessary to use, which it is vain to hope France would consent to, and which can only have the effect of irritating the German Powers and embittering the future course of the discussions.

At all events the Queen would wish the Cabinet to be previously consulted and be made acquainted with her opinion.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 19*th April* 1864.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty. In reference to his letter of yesterday, Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell have on further consideration withdrawn the opinion Lord Russell proposed to state to the Cabinet, and therefore nothing has passed in the Cabinet on that subject.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Draft.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21*st April* 1864.—The Queen feels it a duty from which she must not shrink to call the attention of Lord Granville to the report, in

[1] The Danish version of Düppel.

the *Globe* of last night, of speeches made by Mazzini and Garibaldi on Sunday at the house of Mr. Stergen.

It appears to the Queen that the object for which it was declared that the Government should receive and honour Garibaldi, namely that of keeping him out of dangerous hands, has hardly been attained when he boasts himself to have been the pupil of Mazzini after calling upon Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc.

She cannot but deeply regret that, whatever personal feeling it may have been right to testify towards a man of remarkable honesty and singleness of purpose, the members of her Government should have lavished honours usually reserved for Royalty upon one who openly declares his objects to be to lead the attack upon Venice, Rome, and Russia, with the Sovereigns of which countries the Government, in her name, profess sentiments of complete friendship and alliance.

The Queen thinks that the representatives of these countries might well remonstrate at the unusual adulation shown in official quarters to one professing objects so hostile to their Royal Masters.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

Private.

London, 21*st April* 1864.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He cannot deny the truth of your Majesty's observations. There are, however, some countervailing considerations.

Garibaldi has all the qualifications for making him a popular idol in this country. He is of low extraction, he is physically and morally brave, he is a good guerilla soldier, he has achieved great things by "dash," he has a simple manner with a sort of nautical [? natural] dignity, and a pleasing smile. He has no religion, but he hates the Pope. He is a goose, but that is considered to be an absence of diplomatic guile. His mountebank dress, which be-

trays a desire for effect, has a certain dramatic effect. His reception at Southampton and in London shows that no amount of cold water would have damped the enthusiasm of the middle and lower classes. His political principles, which are nearly as dangerous to the progress and maintenance of real liberty as the most despotic systems, are thought admirably applicable to foreign countries.

The joining of the aristocracy, including some Conservative leaders, in demonstrations in his favour, although making the affair more offensive and more ridiculous to foreign nations, has been of great use in this country. It has taken the democratic sting (as to this country) out of the affair. There has been tomfoolery, and much vulgarity, but on the whole there has also been much that is honourable to the English character. Lord Granville has endeavoured to treat Garibaldi exactly as he would any other remarkable foreigner, except that he has not, as he generally does, invited him to his house. There was a report that Lord Granville had *escorted* the General about the opera. It was an invention.

Some of Lord Granville's colleagues have done what your Majesty observes upon—paid him honours which are reserved for Royalty—probably without due consideration. It is not true that red cloth was laid down for him at Stafford House. There was nothing but the usual red carpeting, which is always there. The Duke of Sutherland has shown much presence of mind and tact in the management of what has been a very difficult task. He likes Garibaldi, but says he cannot comprehend how he can be a good general or an able organiser. He describes his belongings, the doctor, the secretary, and the eldest son, as ruffians. He has the real merit of getting him away. The ladies of the family and Lord Shaftesbury are temporarily a little out of their minds. It is much for the dignity of Parliament, that some demonstrations in Garibaldi's favour, which were threatened, did not take place.

Sir Charles Phipps to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 28*th April* 1864.

MY DEAR LORD PALMERSTON,—The Queen has directed me to write to you in her name and to say that she has received your recommendation of Doctor Jeune for the vacant Bishopric of Peterborough.

She thinks that he has so lately been appointed to the Deanery of Lincoln, that his promotion now to the Bench would be premature, and would give an appearance of special selection hardly justified by any extraordinary pre-eminence.

The Queen would think either the Dean of Peterborough or Doctor Jacobson a preferable appointment.

The Dean of Peterborough[1] is a man of great learning and very popular. He was, the Queen believes, Head Master of the Charter House, and tutor of Lord Canning and other distinguished men.

Doctor Jacobson is the Regius Professor of Divinity [Oxford],[2] a very eminent man, and it has always been usual to offer promotion to the person holding this Professorship.

Doctor Jeune might well wait for a future vacancy.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 29*th April* 1864.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has had the honour of receiving your Majesty's communication through Sir Charles Phipps, in answer to Viscount Palmerston's recommendation of Doctor Jeune for the vacant See of Peterborough; and he regrets to find that your Majesty has some objection to Doctor Jeune's appointment, and a preference for other persons not named by Viscount Palmerston. He hopes, however, that, upon further consideration, your Majesty may feel disposed to accept the recommendation, which, as the responsible adviser of your Majesty in such matters, he has felt it to be his duty, towards your Majesty and towards the Church, to

[1] Dr. Augustus Saunders. [2] Afterwards Bishop of Chester.

submit for your Majesty's approval. The only objection stated by Sir Charles Phipps, as felt by your Majesty with regard to Doctor Jeune, is that he has not long since been appointed to the Deanery of Lincoln, and that his promotion now to the Bench would look like special selection not justified by any extraordinary pre-eminence. No doubt the choice of any man from the great numbers who constitute the Church, in order that such person may be placed in an ecclesiastical dignity, must of necessity be a special selection, and that objection, if it be one, would apply to any choice that could be made. As to the objection that Doctor Jeune has no extraordinary pre-eminence to justify his being chosen, if the word "extraordinary" were omitted Viscount Palmerston would demur to the assertion. It would indeed be difficult to find any man among the distinguished members of the Church of whom it could be said that he stood in a position of *extraordinary pre-eminence*; nor could the responsible Minister of the Crown justly be required on every occasion so to measure the qualifications of all the prominent members of the Church, as to present for your Majesty's sanction a person answering that condition; and if Viscount Palmerston may be allowed to say so, he does not think that the two persons who have been mentioned to your Majesty would at all answer that description. All that the first Minister of the Crown can do is to pick out for ecclesiastical dignities men whom he has reason to believe fit for the posts to be filled, without at all undertaking that other persons, if they had the duty of advising your Majesty, might not in the crowd find others who might in many respects be equally fit; but the responsibility of advising your Majesty must rest with somebody, and it happens to rest with the First Lord of the Treasury.

In a body among the members of which such diversities of theological opinions exist, as in the members of the Church of England, it is perfectly impossible that any choice for dignities can be made

which shall be approved by all parties, but Viscount Palmerston has the satisfaction of knowing, by many communications made to him by wholly disinterested persons, and by persons of different political parties, that his recommendations to your Majesty for ecclesiastical appointments have been generally approved; and it has been acknowledged by all that those recommendations have not been suggested by personal partialities, or what is vulgarly called the spirit of job, but have arisen from an earnest desire to promote the character and interests of the Church.

As to the fact that Doctor Jeune has not long been appointed to the Deanery of Lincoln, that surely can constitute no objection to his being placed on the Bench, if he is fit to be there. The only person who might complain would be Doctor Jeune himself, to whom the removal may be a cause of expense.

The qualifications of Doctor Jeune are that he is a man of business, of much ecclesiastical learning, and a good speaker, and that he will be very useful to the Chancellor in the discussion of ecclesiastical matters in the House of Lords. In fact, the Chancellor was one of the first persons who a considerable time ago drew Viscount Palmerston's attention to the merits and qualifications of Doctor Jeune.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 2*nd May* 1864.—The Queen has received Lord Palmerston's letter of the 29th April.

It would be very disagreeable to her to answer that letter, or to prolong a discussion which has taken a tone so different from that in which Lord Palmerston is in the habit of addressing her.

She sanctions the appointment of Doctor Jeune to the vacant Bishopric, though she still considers the double promotion of a clergyman, within six months, to a Deanery and to the Bench, to be so unusual as to require to be founded upon some very pre-eminent claims.

The King of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*]

BERLIN, 30*th April* 1864.—I have just had the pleasure of seeing your son Alfred, and this circumstance leads me, at this important moment, to send you a few lines. . . .

You have asked me, through the Queen,[1] not to reject the proposal of an Armistice, as this might have the most serious consequences. I have always been ready to agree to one; though only upon bases which I could accept with honour to my Arms, now in the full career of victory. The first proposal was, on this account, inadmissible. The second, confidential, is admissible, if the condition is accepted that the Armistice shall be established both by *land* and *water*.

What course the negotiations are likely to take on the *main question* is very obscure to me. My own observation of the feeling of the people of the Duchies convinces me that, without a guaranteed independence for them, no peace can be looked for. And how can I consent to shedding the blood of my subjects, and to the heavy sacrifices we have made, without having attained a *permanent* settlement?

The problem to solve is: in what this independence shall consist, and how it may be guaranteed. I must impress upon you, that the stipulations of 1851/52 can never be regarded as a basis for the Conference that can still be adhered to. The "personal union" is the very least that I can insist upon, and should this be unattainable, then the question of a separate dynasty must be brought forward. . . . WILHELM.

[*Copy.*] *Earl Granville to Earl Russell.*

Private. LONDON, 5*th May* 1864.

MY DEAR LORD RUSSELL,—I remained in attendance at Osborne yesterday after the Council. In the

[1] Of Prussia.

evening the Queen sent me your two drafts of despatches to Vienna, with a message—her Majesty does not like Lord Palmerston's conversation with Count Apponyi,[1] nor the embodiment of it into a despatch, with the Cabinet's adoption and approval. Her Majesty asked whether my understanding was the same as yours, of the approval of the Cabinet.

Instead of answering the last question, I asked permission of the Queen to talk with you on the subject.

My own impression is that the Cabinet did not adopt the language of Lord Palmerston.

I was not at the Cabinet of Saturday, but I understood that you proposed that the Fleet should go to the Baltic with orders to prevent the Austrian Fleet entering it. The Cabinet dissented, and at last a draft was agreed upon, in which all allusion to the movement of our Fleet was omitted.

Lord Palmerston, disagreeing with this decision, which he thought weak and timid, sent for Apponyi, and pressed upon him with force and point his personal views and intentions. On Monday Lord Palmerston's conversation was discussed with the respect and deference due to him. Lord Clarendon [2] expressed his approbation of what he had said to Count Apponyi, and of his manner of doing it. No

[1] Lord Palmerston had informed the Queen that, in conversation with Count Apponyi, the Austrian Ambassador, he had used the following language: "Speaking for myself, personally, and for nobody else, I must frankly tell him, that, if an Austrian squadron were to pass along our coasts and ports, and go into the Baltic to help in any way the German operations against Denmark, I should look upon it as an affront and insult to England; that I would not, and could not, stand such a thing, and that unless, in such case, a superior British squadron were to follow with such orders for acting as that case might require, I would not continue to hold my present position. Such a case would probably lead to collision, that is, to war, and in my opinion Germany, and especially Austria, would be the sufferers in such a war."

[2] On the Duke of Newcastle's retirement from ill-health, Mr. Cardwell had recently become Secretary for War, and Lord Clarendon, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Lord Clarendon also, with Lord Russell, represented Great Britain at the Conference now sitting in London.

one else spoke in the same sense. You then proposed to the Cabinet a draft differing from that agreed upon on Saturday, and again announcing the departure of the Fleet under certain contingencies. Many of the Cabinet, including Lord Clarendon, pressed you to omit all allusion to our Fleet, which you consented to do. Now, I do not understand why the Cabinet should have done this, if they had been aware that another despatch (not mentioned) was going the same day, officially adopting all that had been said about the Fleet in Lord Palmerston's private interview with Count Apponyi.

A large portion of the Cabinet have all along wished to keep for ourselves perfect liberty to act how, and when, we like, but to avoid committing ourselves to any threat of definite action, particularly action of an isolated character.

This policy seems particularly advisable, at a time when after infinite pains you have succeeded in bringing together all the parties interested into a Conference.—GRANVILLE.

Earl Russell to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*] CHESHAM PLACE, 6*th May* 1864.

MY DEAR GRANVILLE,—If I am wrong in thinking that the Cabinet approved the language of Lord Palmerston to Count Apponyi, I greatly regret it.

But in that case it is necessary for the Cabinet to adopt some other policy, and it will be for Lord Palmerston to consider whether he can be responsible for that policy.

It is necessary for me, who am the organ of the Government in regard to Foreign Affairs, to ascertain what that policy is.

I was no party to the draft agreed upon by the Cabinet on Saturday; nor could I have signed a despatch in the terms of that draft. I was at liberty, therefore, to propose another draft, which I did. It is true that I consented to omit all mention of the

Fleet, as it was thought such a mention would be offensive to Austria.

But that omission was not to prevent my informing our own Ambassador at Vienna, in a despatch marked "most confidential," of the conversation of Lord Palmerston with Count Apponyi, which I conceived was sanctioned by a great majority of the Cabinet.

I think that Lord Palmerston's communication must either be confirmed or disavowed by the Cabinet; and that if Members of the Cabinet wish "to keep for themselves perfect liberty of action, to be free to act how and when we like—but to avoid committing themselves to any threat (?) of definite action—or rather to any definite action—particularly action of an isolated character," Lord Palmerston's language must be distinctly repudiated.

Of course I shall not be a party to such repudiation. But in the event of the Austrian Fleet going into the Baltic, the event must not find the Cabinet unprepared. They must make up their minds one way or the other.—RUSSELL.

[*Copy.*] *General Grey to Earl Granville.*

Private and Confidential. OSBORNE, *9th May* 1864.

MY DEAR GRANVILLE,—The Queen desires me to return Lord Russell's letter. It strikes her Majesty as strange that Lord Russell should declare himself to have been no party to the draft agreed to at the Cabinet on Saturday. And still more so, that, claiming a right in consequence to suggest a new draft, he should not only send one, adopting the very language to which the Cabinet had positively objected both on Saturday and Monday, but that he should ask to have her Majesty's assent communicated by telegraph, so that no time should be lost in sending it! For I need not tell you that the draft sent for her Majesty's approval, embodying Lord Palmerston's conversation with Count Apponyi, and expressing the concurrence of the Cabinet in the language he had

used, was *not* marked "*most* confidential" or even "confidential," and that part of the compromise her Majesty desired me to suggest to you was that this character should be given to it.

All this naturally increases the feeling of distrust with which Lord Russell has contrived to inspire her Majesty. But she is MOST anxious that you should keep matters as smooth as you can—and do your best to prevent a Ministerial crisis, which, on such a question, and in the present excited state of the public mind, would be very serious.

Her Majesty will insist, before she goes to Scotland, upon no important step being taken without having been fully and maturely considered by the Cabinet, before it is submitted for her Majesty's approval. And she relies upon the Cabinet, and particularly upon yourself, to save her from being dragged unnecessarily into this miserable war.—C. GREY.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Clarendon.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 9*th May* 1864.—The Queen is truly thankful to hear of the Armistice, though she wishes it was for longer. But she *concludes* it can be *renewed*. The Queen grieves to see such a disposition to put the *worst* interpretation upon the actions and motives of the Prussians. Most earnestly must she *repeat* her *wish* and indeed her *hope* and *trust* that her Government will enter upon the discussions with a *true spirit* of *impartiality*, and not with the decided Danish view which has, alas! all along characterised their conduct, and which has done so much harm, for it has encouraged the Danes all along, and has made Germany look upon us as *her enemies*.

The Queen will not dwell upon what is past, but she must most earnestly ask that in these approaching *very* difficult discussions there should be that spirit of fairness and impartiality which England ought to evince and which would advance the object of a favourable settlement far more than *any other*

policy which could be adopted. If this were really to be felt, we should have the confidence of all parties, which she fears we have not now.

The Queen need not here repeat what she knows Lord Clarendon entirely concurs in—the absolute necessity of settling nothing contrary to the feelings and wishes of the Duchies. This has been the course pursued by the present Government in a very marked manner in Italy, and justice and fairness calls for the same in the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig.

The Queen hopes that the discussion will not be hurried too much, for by giving time the passions on all sides will be calmed and cooled down.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 10*th May* 1864.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he has had the honour to receive a note from Sir C. Phipps written by order of your Majesty, suggesting that the despatch to be communicated by Lord Bloomfield to Count Rechberg,[1] which was approved by the Cabinet and sanctioned by your Majesty, and was sent to Vienna yesterday evening, should now be stopped.

But Lord Russell feels that his responsibility would be very serious if hereafter Parliament should enquire what has been done when the Austrian squadron proceeded to the north, and Lord Russell should be unable to produce a single despatch, communicating to the Austrian Government what was done when Count Rechberg refused a written promise.

He therefore feels unable to stop the despatch, and trusts your Majesty will accept this explanation.

Lord Russell promised Count Apponyi this morning to send him a copy of the despatch in question.

The other despatch, marked "most confidential," will, of course, not be communicated.

But it is impossible to conceal that the appear-

[1] Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

ance of an Austrian squadron in the Downs and in the North Sea has irritated the House of Commons and the country to a degree which would hardly have been believed three months ago.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 10*th May* 1864.— . . . Viscount Palmerston is always unwilling to touch upon subjects which may not be agreeable to your Majesty, but still he has duties to perform which his devoted attachment to your Majesty and his deep sense of gratitude prevent him from shrinking from. The accompanying part of a recently set-up paper has been put into his hands. It contains much falsehood and misrepresentation and it is deserving to be put into the fire. But this paper, and others which have been mentioned to Viscount Palmerston, tend to show, that an impression is beginning to be created that your Majesty has expressed personal opinions on the affairs of Denmark and Germany which have embarrassed the course of the Government. Nothing can be further from the truth, for in all that has been done, or abstained from being done, the views and policy of the Government have been suggested by their own sense of public duty and have met with the sanction and approval of your Majesty, in the most constitutional manner. But it would be a great evil if public opinion were to divest your Majesty of that proper and essential protection which the Constitution secures for the Sovereign, by making the responsible Ministers answerable for all that is done or not done; and if your Majesty's personal opinions and views were to become the objects of criticism or attack. Your Majesty has no doubt been duly careful as to the degree and manner in which your Majesty's opinions and views have been expressed, but it might be well that no indiscreet expressions from persons about your Majesty should give any countenance to such remarks as those in this newspaper.

Sir Charles Phipps to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11*th May* 1864.—Sir Charles Phipps presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He does not believe that Lord Palmerston has any intention of being offensive, but he has a singular want of knowledge of what may or may not be said.

Sir Charles believes that in this instance he is actuated by good motives, though certainly the mode of communication is not what it should be.

It is quite true that it is desirable that those about your Majesty should talk in public as little as possible upon these subjects, but Sir Charles is not aware of any such imprudence, nor indeed of any opportunity of speaking about Denmark or Germany.

Sir Charles submits a short draft for your Majesty's approval.

He thinks that it would not do for him to write, as he may be one of the "persons about your Majesty."

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 11*th May* 1864.—The Queen has received Lord Palmerston's letter. . . .

As long as the Queen exercises her functions for the good of the country alone, and according to that Constitution which has through her reign been her sole guide, she must be content to see unjust remarks in obscure newspapers and must continue to disregard them. She quite agrees with Lord Palmerston that it ought to be put into the fire.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12*th May* 1864.— . . . I have asked General Grey to write to you about *Politics*. Pilgerstein is gouty, and extremely impertinent in his communications of different kinds to me.

I had a very satisfactory conversation with Johnny yesterday, and find him and Clarendon *determined* to try and *settle* matters in a right spirit, and *not*

allow the Danes to *prevent* every settlement, and *not* to *let* hostilities recommence again. . . .

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

NEUES PALAIS, 11*th May* 1864.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—I can only write a short letter to-day, as I expect to be off to-night to Hamburg, unless Fritz telegraphs to the contrary! I own my joy of yesterday is a little cooled down since the news of this morning of the ill luck the Austrians have met with at sea, because I fear that will make the Danes more obstinate and the peace more difficult to arrange; and an Armistice of four weeks with everything beginning again afterwards is not a cheerful prospect. Your telegram first gave me the news, and I thank you so much for sending it. I have heard nothing from here yet, and I believe the official announcement of the Armistice has not reached the Army yet. Many, many thanks for two dear letters. I cannot say how mortified or rather disgusted I am at the odious *Times*, which is really disgracing itself by its monstrous language and very great stupidity. I assure you I can hardly read it. The family here look upon me with a certain look of virtuous indignation and raise their eyes to the skies when they mention England, as if I could help it. The Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin said yesterday to Aunt Charles she never ceased regretting that there was an Englishwoman in the family, *et par-dessus le marché si anglaise*. It is not very pleasant for me just now. Another newspaper (not the *Kreuz Zeitung*) says it hopes the infamous conduct of England towards Prussia, as declared in the English Press, will open the eyes of all for ever and prevent the danger arising of English and Coburg influence returning.

People spread at Berlin that I was unhappy at the success of our troops. . . . They comment on every single thing I say, do, and put on, to my

disadvantage. I cannot do the simplest thing without its being found to be in imitation of something English, and *therefore* anti-Prussian; even the Oratorio did not please on that account, magnificent as it was, and was apostrophised as a copy of English concerts!

I feel as if I could smash the idiots; it is so spiteful and untrue. I am sure I would almost quarrel with my real and best friends in dear England rather than forget that I belong to this country, the interest of which I have so *deeply* at heart—more *deeply*, I venture to say, than a great many born and bred here. But you see there are and will be narrow-minded donkeys everywhere, and the best way, after all, is not to mind what they say—their nonsense is not worth troubling about. I never was popular here, but since the war you can well imagine that my position has not improved owing to the English Press.

I cannot help thinking and hoping that all this will pass off.

The Garibaldi fever with which everybody was so taken in England shocked people most of all here, but I own I often enjoyed the horror and indignation exhibited at the very mention of his name. It was a piece of folly, all that reception, etc., and it was a mercy that it all went off without more disagreeables. *Du sublime au ridicule il n'y a qu'un pas*, and certainly that *pas* was made by most people in London. . . .

Good-bye, beloved Mama. Kissing your dear hand, I remain, your most dutiful and affectionate daughter, VICTORIA.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 15*th May* 1864.—The Queen returns these letters to Lord Palmerston with her best thanks. She entirely agrees with him, and is deeply grieved at this strange and independent act of Mr. Glad-

stone's.[1] He should never have made such a speech without the previous knowledge of his colleagues, and especially of Lord Palmerston.

The Queen sincerely trusts that this imprudent declaration may not produce the agitation in the country which it is calculated to do.

The Queen is glad to hear that everything has been agreed upon about the pension for Lady Elgin.

She hopes Lord Palmerston is getting over his attack of gout.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Clarendon.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 17*th May* 1864.—It strikes the Queen that it would be *very* useful, if Lord Clarendon would take an opportunity of seeing the Prince of Wales, and *preparing* him for what the Danish Government, in *all* probability, will have to consent to; and above all, to show him that it will be for the *good*, and for the permanent peace, of Denmark and of the *world*, not to attempt to force a union which would only produce a constant recurrence of what has taken place. The Queen would not wish Lord Clarendon to enter into too many details, or so say *anything* of a very *confidential* nature; but to speak generally, and in doing so, to speak as he, and as Lord Russell did, to the Queen—in a true spirit of *impartiality*; showing that (as Lord Clarendon said to the Queen) "you *cannot* ignore the strong and unanimous feeling of whole Germany"; and cautioning the Prince of Wales against violent abuse of Prussia; for [it] is fearfully dangerous for the Heir to her throne to take up one side violently; while he is bound by so many

[1] Speaking on behalf of the Government in the discussion of a private member's Reform Bill in the House of Commons on the 11th May, Mr. Gladstone said: "I venture to say that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or of political danger is morally entitled to come within the pale of the Constitution." Lord Palmerston remonstrated with his colleague, and forwarded to the Queen the correspondence, which is set out fully in Lord Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, bk. v, ch. 8.

ties of blood to Germany, and only quite lately, by marriage, to Denmark.

The Queen knows it is not *easy* where one's feelings are strongly moved; but if one is determined to act only in a spirit of justice and conciliation (would to God that this country had done so from the very beginning!), one can keep clear of violent partisanship, and one's own sympathies and affections never can interfere with one's duty.

In the interest of this country, above all, but also in the interest of Denmark, it is most essential that the Prince of Wales should understand this. And she feels sure that Lord Clarendon can do this better than anyone else.

The Prince of Wales was anxious to speak to the Queen about the Conference, but there was no time, and Lord Clarendon might say the Queen had desired him to speak to him.

It should be, as she before said, as *generally* as possible.

The Queen trusts that Lord Clarendon spoke to Sir A. Paget, and that he will not return uninstructed what to say.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

37 CHESHAM PLACE, 18*th May* 1864.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to enclose a sketch he has made of the heads of a Treaty of Pacification in the north of Europe.

Count Bernstorff,[1] who has just been here, but to whom Lord Russell has not shown this paper, is decidedly in favour of the principle of the proposed arrangement. So is the French Government.

The Danish Plenipotentiaries have written for further instructions. M. Quaade and M. Krieger[2] are

[1] Prussian Ambassador, and Prussian Plenipotentiary at the Conference.

[2] Danish Plenipotentiaries.

personally in favour of the plan. So is Count Wachtmeister, the Swedish Minister. The Governments of Russia and Austria are likely to be opposed to it; at least the latter. Lord Russell has written to Baron Brunnow[1] a long letter on the subject.

Heads of proposed settlement of Danish question—submitted to Queen Victoria with letter from Earl Russell of 18*th May* 1864.

1. Holstein with the southern part of Schleswig to form a separate independent Duchy.
2. The northern part of Schleswig to be incorporated with the Danish Monarchy.
3. The Duchy of Lauenburg to be added to Holstein, and, as a compensation for this cession, the mixed districts in Schleswig to be united with the northern division of the Duchy.
4. In regard to the future Sovereign of Holstein, the wishes of the inhabitants of Holstein, Lauenburg, and South Schleswig to be consulted through a Diet, in the most formal and authentic manner.
5. No member of the Reigning Houses of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, or Russia to be capable of being elected Duke of Holstein.—R.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 19*th May* 1864.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the pleasure of stating that the Prince of Wales acquitted himself admirably well yesterday at the dinner of the Literary Fund. Everything he said was marked by good feeling and good taste. His delivery was clear and unpretending, without any attempt to assume the part of an orator, and all the more striking from its simplicity.

Your Majesty may rest in confidence that, on the many occasions upon which the Prince of Wales will

[1] Russian Ambassador and Russian Plenipotentiary.

be called upon to express his sentiments in public, he will be equal to the onerous duty of fulfilling the expectations of the country, and doing credit to your Majesty and his incomparable father.

General Grey to the Earl of Clarendon.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 19*th May* 1864.

MY DEAR LORD CLARENDON,—The Queen desires me to thank you for your account of the proceedings in Conference on Tuesday last. Her Majesty regrets that so little progress was made towards a settlement; but as it appears to her that there is not so much difference between the demands of the German Powers in Conference and the conditions suggested by France for an arrangement (and to which, as the Queen sees by a draft sent from the Foreign Office, the English Government seems disposed to agree) as to preclude the hope of a compromise being effected, her Majesty trusts that the ten days for which you have adjourned will be profitably employed in endeavouring to dispose both parties to moderation.

If the German Powers will not insist on Rendsburg and Kiel being made a Federal fortress and port, and will be satisfied with the French proposal for a division of Schleswig according to nationalities, surely Denmark will not make difficulty with respect to the dynastic question. Mr. Lytton's[1] despatches have held out the hope that the division of Schleswig, and the annexation of the southern parts to Holstein in entire independence of Denmark, would be acquiesced in. And, in that case, the *manner* in which the Dynastic question may be solved, as the result will probably, under any mode of solution, be the same, will not be of any great consequence.

Under any circumstances her Majesty trusts that the truce will be renewed, and that the neutral Powers

[1] British Chargé d'Affaires at Copenhagen, afterwards Earl of Lytton and Viceroy of India.

will exert themselves to prevent a renewal of hostilities. Believe me, yours very truly, C. GREY.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 20*th May* 1864.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to say that he yesterday saw the Prince of Wales and found his Royal Highness very reasonable and right-minded on the subject of Denmark. He said that it would have been unfeeling and unnatural on his part if he had not heartily sympathised with the Princess, who passed sleepless nights and was miserable about the trials that her parents were undergoing, but that it was far from his Royal Highness's wish or intention to give expression to the feeling which he must be known to entertain; and that so far from encouraging Denmark in resistance or giving the slightest hope that this country could or would go to her assistance, he had written strongly the day before to the King urging his Majesty to accept the proposal that would be made by your Majesty's Government as the only one now practicable, and which in the end might prove of solid advantage to Denmark. His Royal Highness moreover said that occasions might arise when he could be of more use than Sir A. Paget in making known to the King and Queen the wishes of your Majesty's Government, and that it would be a great satisfaction to him to be so employed.

The Prince of Wales readily admitted that in his position it was most expedient to avoid all appearance of partisanship and the expression of any strong opinions whatever with respect to Germany, but his Royal Highness seemed to think that his feelings regarding Prussia did not much differ from those of Germans in general.

The Prince of Wales had the goodness to desire Lord Clarendon to come to him whenever he wished, and communicate upon any subject with his Royal Highness. . . .

General Grey to the Earl of Clarendon.

[*Draft.*]

Most confidential.

BALMORAL, 22*nd May* 1864.

MY DEAR LORD CLARENDON,—The Queen desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th, and to say how much she is obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in seeing the Prince of Wales, and inculcating upon him the necessity of great caution in his language respecting the German and Danish question.

The Queen entirely agrees with you that it would have been unnatural and unfeeling on the part of the Prince of Wales not to sympathise warmly with the Princess in the distress and anxiety that late events must have caused her, and she has always told him so. Her Majesty is glad, on the other hand, to find that his Royal Highness admits the necessity of not giving undue expression to his feelings, and of avoiding all appearance of partisanship, so peculiarly dangerous considering his own family and relations.

His Royal Highness's offer, however, of becoming the medium of communication between her Majesty's Government and the King of Denmark, if made use of on certain occasions, the Queen thinks must be accepted with *extreme caution*. He should be made aware that no political communication should be made by him, without the previous knowledge and sanction of the Government and of the Queen; and he should be careful to keep copies of any letters which he may write of such a character. The Prince Consort, whenever he wrote letters abroad which might have political influence, or when he received letters bearing upon public questions, was very particular in communicating such correspondence to the Government. And the Queen hopes, when you see the Prince of Wales again, that you will impress upon him very strongly the necessity of adopting the same course. . . .

The Queen is in great hopes, from Mr. Lytton's

telegram of the 20th, that the account of the continued Prussian exactions in Jutland is much exaggerated, if not quite unfounded. Mr. Lytton says "the Prussians have given receipts for all things received since 12th, but have reserved payment thereof." A simple complaint of the non-payment of ready money is a very different thing from the forced contributions which they have been accused of still exacting. Her Majesty desires me to send you an extract of a letter from the Crown Princess. The Queen entirely agrees in the opinion therein expressed of the Duke of Augustenburg, for whom the Prince Consort had a high regard, thinking him very sensible and liberal-minded.—C. GREY.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, *25th May* 1864.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Lord Ellenborough asked a question of Lord Russell this evening as to the observance of the armistice by the Prussians. He made an attack upon the Prussians, and then upon the general policy of the Foreign Office, alluding to Poland as well as to Germany and Denmark. He then alluded to an impression abroad, that, with regard to German politics, this country was now not in the condition in which it was when George III declared himself to be an Englishman, and that the German sympathies of his two predecessors would not influence the policy of his Government, which should be guided only by English interests. This part of his speech was heard in silence—the rest of it, including the final question, was much cheered.

Lord Russell answered well and with great dignity. He defended his conduct both as regards Poland and the Danish question. With respect to the allusion of Lord Ellenborough, he thought it uncalled for. He said that your Majesty had feelings of sympathy with a country which had given birth to the late Prince Consort, and in which two of your Majesty's

daughters were happily married ; but that as regarded the public policy of this country your Majesty had but one wish, that is to say, the maintenance of the honour and interests of this country ; that on important matters of foreign policy your Majesty was certainly desirous that the Government should give them due consideration and deliberation, but he could assert that, whenever the Government had come to any deliberate decision, your Majesty had always adopted with cordiality the advice of your responsible advisers. He ended by saying that, if the foreign policy of the Government was open to condemnation, that condemnation must rest solely and exclusively on himself and the Government, and could not be transferred to any other quarter. Lord Russell was cheered, and was followed by Lord Brougham, who made a short speech about the sympathies of the country being with Denmark against the Government of Prussia.

Lord Grey defended his father's memory from the attack upon him that he had sanctioned exactly the same sort of language addressed to Russia on behalf of the Poles, and with the same fruitless result. He explained how distasteful to him was scolding, in a very scolding speech ; and the subject dropped. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

BALMORAL, 27*th May* 1864.—The Queen hears this evening, from Lord Granville, what passed yesterday in the House of Lords, and though she has not seen what was said, she wishes to thank Lord Russell for having spoken the *truth*.

It is *not* the first time that Lord Russell has had to defend the highest in the country from base calumny ; and she *never* forgot what *he* did in '54[1] ; but she must own that she thought her terrible misfortunes, her unprotected position without a

[1] When he defended the Prince Consort in the House of Commons from charges of improper interference in State affairs. See First Series, vol. iii, ch. 23.

husband to stand by and protect her, her known character for fearless straightforwardness, her devotion *now* and ever to her country (a proof of which is her weakened health and strength), ought to have prevented *such* an attack—which *to a lady* she can only characterise as ungentlemanlike.

It is enough to have suffered as the Queen has done the whole winter and spring from anxiety on this unhappy question, to see her own country hurried on by the Press and by many public men into violent and passionate excitement against our *natural ally*, abusing that great country till she returns it in the same manner—that country from which *everyone* nearest and dearest to the Queen has come, and to which she is bound by every possible tie—and to have worked and striven to prevent further mischief, and to calm the excited passions, on all sides, to guard England from being hurried on in her blind passion into war, the results of which might be very alarming and might leave us isolated ; the Queen says, all this, unaided, uncheered by her great and good husband, is surely enough without being exposed to such base insinuations.

The Queen hopes everyone *will* know *how* she resents Lord Ellenborough's conduct and how she despises him !

But with a good *conscience* one must bear calumny with patience !

The Queen feels *very* anxious about to-morrow's Conference. She trusts Germany will be satisfied and Denmark yield ; but everything should be done to prevent a sudden breaking-up of the Conference, and she trusts that every attempt will be made to consider every proposal in detail before they are finally treated as inadmissible.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

FOREIGN OFFICE, 27*th May* 1864 (12.25 p.m.).—The Plenipotentiaries of Germany will not agree to

neutral proposals about line of frontier and fortifications, which in return for such large concessions would not be much for them to agree to.

Instructions will come to-day from Germany and from Denmark, and we must hope they will be reasonable on both sides, but there is much to fear.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

[*Telegram.*]

Balmoral, 27*th May* 1864 (5 p.m.).—Much concerned at your telegram. Would it be of any use the Queen writing to the King of Prussia? The Queen trusts to your not allowing the Conference to break off abruptly, without trying every means of keeping Peace.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

28*th May* 1864.—It might be of great use that the Queen should write to the King of Prussia.

The line of frontier is the chief point of difference.

British Plenipotentiaries will do all in their power to keep Conference together.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

Private.

Balmoral, 28*th May* 1864.—The Queen has been *so much* shocked at what passed in the House of Lords on Thursday evening, that she cannot help writing a line to Lord Derby to express her feelings on the subject; and her regret that, when Lord Ellenborough made his malignant and unmanly insinuations against her, Lord Derby, as head of the party to which Lord Ellenborough belongs, and as one who, having been twice her Prime Minister, must well know how *utterly* unfounded such accusations are, should not have marked his condemnation by a few words of contradiction or reproof.

The Queen's Ministers, to whatever party they

may belong, *know well* how completely she has, on all occasions, set aside her personal and private feelings, and laboured conscientiously and unceasingly for what she believes to be the interest of the country. In this unhappy quarrel her sole anxiety has been to preserve this country from war, and to see impartial justice done on all sides. . . .

As for Lord Ellenborough himself, the Queen can only treat what he says with the most profound contempt, but she must say she *had* thought that her heavy affliction, her isolated position without her dear husband, her weak health and shattered nerves, the result of a broken heart and of her constant and unaided and uncheered labours for her country, ought to have *protected her against* such unmanly and abominable insinuations !

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

St. James's Square, 29*th May* 1864.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, hastens to submit to your Majesty the deep regret with which he has perused the letter which he has this afternoon had the honour of receiving from your Majesty.

It would be matter of inexpressible concern to Lord Derby, if he, who has been honoured by so many marks of your Majesty's public confidence and personal favour, could be supposed, and still more could be justly supposed, by your Majesty, to have failed for a moment in the loyalty and duty which he owes to your Majesty's person, position, and character. But he ventures to hope that he shall satisfy your Majesty, as he is conscious to himself, that, in the painful circumstances to which your Majesty adverts, he has not so failed. In the first place, he must entreat your Majesty to dismiss from your mind the misapprehension that Lord Ellenborough belongs to that party which professes to be under Lord Derby's influence. Lord Ellenborough, though entertaining strong Conservative opinions, holds himself altogether aloof from any party com-

binations. He has declared that he will never again be a candidate for office; he consults with no one, so far as Lord Derby knows, as to what he is going to do or say; and he occupies a position (locally) in the House of Lords, in which he is not in personal communication with the Leaders of the Opposition. He is also a man of the most impulsive character, who feels himself freed from all responsibility as to the effect of what he says; and, on several occasions, has been, to say the least of it, very unguarded in his language, in which he has expressed opinions widely at variance with those of Lord Derby. On Thursday last, without notice given to anyone, except of his intention to enquire whether the Prussians in Jutland had adhered to the terms of the suspension of hostilities, he made the remarks which have not unnaturally excited your Majesty's displeasure, and from which good taste and good feeling might have led him to abstain.

At the same time your Majesty must permit Lord Derby to explain that his impression at the time, confirmed by a reference to the debate since the receipt of your Majesty's letter, was that Lord Ellenborough referred to an impression which he believed to prevail in Germany, rather than one to which he himself attached credit; and the idea which he conveyed was that the German Powers, and especially Prussia, were led to form an exaggerated opinion of the effect which would be produced upon the counsels of your Majesty's Ministers by the deference which they naturally owe to strong personal feelings not less naturally entertained by your Majesty. Those who have had the honour of being admitted to your Majesty's confidence well know how fully your Majesty understands and appreciates the duty of a Constitutional Sovereign; and how readily your Majesty makes all personal and private feelings subordinate to that duty, when they are placed in opposition to the deliberate judgment of those whom the Constitution recognises as your Majesty's respon-

sible advisers. But this truth is not so well understood abroad; and, if Lord Derby may be permitted to say so, the contrast between the very strong language used by your Majesty's Ministers in their foreign correspondence, coupled with the disregard with which foreign Governments have looked upon it, and the course subsequently pursued, have encouraged the erroneous idea that Ministers could not so far have compromised themselves, unless some unseen obstacle interfered with the carrying out of their own views. But this imputation, referring to the existing relations between your Majesty and your Majesty's personal advisers, and cast by one over whom Lord Derby cannot pretend to exercise any control, could only properly be replied to by one of those Ministers to whom reference was made; and Lord Russell had consequently the opportunity of doing that which, Lord Derby humbly submits, would [coming from him] have been a mere impertinence—vindicating both your Majesty and your Majesty's servants from the charge suggested, and assuming for them, as they were bound to do, the sole responsibility for the course adopted. The newspapers convey no impression of the general satisfaction with which that explanation was received by the House to which it was addressed. . . .[1]

Lord Derby can only trust to your Majesty's invariable kindness to forgive this expression of his views and apprehensions; and he will only farther tax your Majesty's patience by the assurance that, much as he has disapproved of some of the measures adopted by your Majesty's Ministers, his efforts have always been directed to keeping party movements quiet, to diminishing, rather than aggravating, the embarrassments into which their policy has led them; and, above all, as they ever will be, to sparing your Majesty, to the utmost of his power, any increase of those anxieties which are inseparable from your

[1] Lord Derby, in the passage here omitted, expresses at considerable length his apprehensions for the future of Germany and Europe.

Majesty's high position, and which are the more grievous as your Majesty is, alas! condemned to sustain them *alone*![1]

Queen Victoria to the King of Prussia.
[*Translation.*]

Balmoral, *28th May* 1864.— . . . You know how anxious I was from the first to prevent this unhappy war; and how much I have deprecated the violent language which has on both sides embittered the feelings of our two nations.

My Government has been equally desirous with myself to find some means of arriving at a permanent and satisfactory arrangement of this unfortunate question. It is solely with this object that the English Plenipotentiaries have proposed in Conference an arrangement which, though it departs from the principle of the Treaty of 1852, yet seems the only arrangement possible which holds out any prospect of being durable.

I should deeply regret if the prospect of Peace were to be marred by too great demands of Prussia. Your arms have been victorious, and it now depends on the use you make of your victory, whether the public opinion which now inclines to the weaker side be rallied on your side or not. Your Government has repeatedly declared that it had no ambitious objects of its own in view, which I have always believed, but, alas! not my people. If you therefore moderate your demands as much as is in your power, we may look to a great change in public feeling towards Prussia, not only in England, but in other States of Europe not immediately engaged in this quarrel.

I should therefore entreat of you most earnestly, in the interest of the world and of Peace, to consent to such concessions as Denmark would probably accept.

[1] The Queen thanked Lord Derby for his letter, and assured him that his explanation was entirely satisfactory to her.

If you are uncompromising as to the line of frontier to be fixed in the proposed division of Schleswig, or if you make inadmissible demands for Federal fortresses and fortified ports, you will probably not only render Peace impossible, but also strengthen the prevalent belief that Prussia began this war under false pretences and with a view to her own ambitious projects.

I tremble for the consequences that might ensue. . . . V. R.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

NEUES PALAIS, 26*th May* 1864.— . . . I really do begin to think politics are taking a more favourable turn and do not despair of things ending pretty well *now*! What a blessing! Furious as everyone is here about England, the King never misses an opportunity of saying how much he owes you, and how grateful he is to you for your endeavours to keep peace, etc., etc., which he feels certain would not have been preserved but for you. I hope and trust a peace will be made on a basis which will for ever prevent the recurrence of hostilities on the subject of the duchies, and which will bring them and their duke to their lawful rights.

One thing I own torments me much, it is the feeling of animosity between our two countries; it is so dangerous and productive of such harm! It is kept up too by such foolish trifles, which might be so well avoided. Prussia has gained unpopularity for itself since some time, on account of the King's illiberal Government, but the feeling against us now in England is *most* unjust! Now dear Papa is no longer here I live in continual dread that the bonds which united our two countries for their mutual good are being so loosened that they may be in time quite severed! A great deal depends on who is Minister, that is Ambassador, here. Sir A. Buchanan, who is an excellent man, whom I honour and like personally, is quite unfit for the place and has made himself a

very bad position here. He knows no German and understands nothing whatever of German affairs, nor of the position Prussia holds in the different questions which arise. He does not listen to those who *do* know, and is consequently continually misinformed and misrepresents things totally, as I saw out of the blue book. He is very unpopular here and has no sort of influence. He picks up his information from bad sources, such as other silly diplomatists who understand nothing at all (the Brazilian, for instance). Then he depends on Mr. Lowther entirely, who is without exception the stupidest man I think I ever saw; besides being violent and *taktlos*, he has made so many messes! Sir Andrew is a high Tory and dislikes everything Liberal, the consequence of which is that he totally misunderstands the positions of our political parties; our Conservative party in England cannot be compared with the *Kreuz Zeitung*, it is quite a different thing. Strange to say, in spite of all the ill-treatment he has received at his hands, Sir A. has a secret liking for Bismarck.

Good, excellent Morier,[1] whom I cannot praise enough, who has been a true friend to us, and whose great talent makes him most valuable, is not in favour with the Buchanans; and there is a feud between the Lowthers and Moriers. . . . Sir A. is a violent Dane, and angry with Morier for not being the same. M. is most disinterested—as he is quite aware that his impartial views do not raise him in Lord Russell's favour or in the favour of the Foreign Office; he has an enemy too in Mr. Hammond.[2] Morier is going to England for a leave of five months, and it does not seem quite certain whether he will return! What a loss it would be to Fritz and to me I cannot say; I do not know what we shall do! Would it not be possible to send Sir A. B. to St. Petersburg, which

[1] At this time Second Secretary at the Embassy at Berlin; afterwards Sir Robert Morier, Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

[2] Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office; afterwards Lord Hammond.

is just the same in point of rank, and give us Lord Napier? and send Lowther with Sir A., as they are so hand-and-glove together, and promote Morier into Lowther's place here? That would be a capital arrangement. I know very well that Lord Napier has his drawbacks; but he understands a great deal more about Germany, and would not be above taking advice from the right sources. . . .

I am quite aware that it is no business of mine to meddle in these things, but I thought it right to tell you how matters stand, and it wants an intelligent hand to smooth down all the irritation which Lord Russell's (if I may say) impertinent interpellations have produced here.

After the Peace it would be such a good opportunity and would be turning over a new life [? leaf]. I hope you will turn it over in your mind, dear Mama, and consider it; perhaps it can be managed somehow or other. I am so very anxious for it, and it makes a great difference to us two in particular who is your representative here. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Crown Princess of Prussia. [*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 31*st May* 1864.— . . . I am *very* glad you tell me all you do about Sir A. Buchanan, and I have all along felt just what you say. I always feared his Danish views. I will do what I can without compromising anyone, to get a change both in him and in Mr. Lowther, who *is* a very stupid man. As regards the estrangement between our two countries since our terrible misfortune (though of course beloved Papa's wisdom, and knowledge, and influence can *never, never* be replaced, and the loss of them are constantly felt and EVERYWHERE)—yet that need in no way occur, if only I am properly informed, through you and Stockmar,[1] of the true state of things. But I am grieved and distressed to say that the feeling

[1] Ernest Stockmar, son of Queen Victoria's friend, Baron Stockmar, and private secretary to the Crown Princess.

against Prussia has become *most violent* in England, and quite ungovernable, as I heard from everyone. The people are carried away by imaginary fancies, and by the belief that Prussia wants to have the duchies for *herself*, and that she has (and this we can't get entirely contradicted) broken through the stipulations of the armistice, by her exactions in Jutland.

I don't share these ideas, and invariably say that I know it to be false; but the feeling IS there, and at present no reason is listened to. I hope that *my* opinions and my actions will not be quoted in opposition to my Government, for THAT beloved Papa never permitted; and in the present instance the Government are *perfectly* impartial, and only anxious to come to a settlement, which can, once for all, be accepted by Denmark and Germany.

But their position is *most* difficult, on account of the violent feeling here, and that explains the despatches, which I much regret. Lord Russell, I can *assure* you, is anything but Danish, and if *he alone* could have acted from the first, things *might* have been different. As it is, the great object now is not to fight and quarrel about comparatively smaller questions, for else God Almighty knows what may not happen!

You will have seen the infamous attack and improper insinuation of Lord Ellenborough against me in the House of Lords. Feeling so anxious, I have written to the King very openly—and send here a copy for dear Fritz and you.

If I have been able to preach moderation and impartiality, and if *I* condemn one-sided violence, and if, in the end, my efforts should be successful, I shall not grudge the suffering and anxiety I have gone and do go through. But my task must not be made impossible by too great demands on the side of Germany, and by separating me ostensibly from my Government. That would paralyse every effort for good on my part. . . .

Earl Granville to General Grey.

Private. HOUSE OF LORDS, 30*th May* 1864.

MY DEAR GREY,—I am not surprised that the Queen should have felt the indignation her Majesty expresses at such a wanton and unfounded outrage. The insistence of the Queen that all doubtful propositions should be well considered by the Cabinet has not only saved the country, but the Government itself, from many false steps.

I have often known Lord Derby not act quite up to his professions to the Queen, but in this instance he was perhaps right. Lord Russell had made a complete answer, perfectly satisfactory to the House. Unless Lord Derby was prepared to go into the general subject of debate, it would have been difficult for him to have said anything on a point of which he knew nothing officially, that is to say, the Queen's relations with her Majesty's present Cabinet on the German-Danish question.

Lord Ellenborough has been ill since this unfortunate speech, but I do not believe in judgments. I will endeavour, if I see my way, to have him informed of the Queen's just indignation at an unwarranted and unfounded insinuation. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

CHESHAM PLACE, 31*st May* 1864.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he cannot be surprised at the indignation of your Majesty at the speech made by Lord Ellenborough.

But it is to be lamented that your Majesty's relations in Germany have allowed rumours to go forth that in the present contest your Majesty was disposed to take part with the Germans and against the Danes. Others again, such as Baron Beust, are stated in the newspapers to have received from your Majesty the assurance that your Majesty's Government would never take part in the war in favour of Denmark.

Your Majesty may have expressed a persuasion that your Majesty's Government would never take part in a war to coerce the people of Holstein. But in this way your Majesty's sentiments are perverted and misrepresented, and these perversions and misrepresentations have done your Majesty harm in this country.

At present the only question is, how Denmark can exist as a separate State, and on this subject Lord Russell feels bound to support Denmark in the Conference.

The Representatives of the neutral Powers will meet the Plenipotentiaries of the German Powers to-day at this house, and to-morrow the Danish Plenipotentiaries will be invited to a similar meeting, with a view to come to an agreement on Thursday. But Lord Russell feels no confidence that peace will be the result.

Sir Moses Montefiore desires the honour of an audience of your Majesty to present the edict of the Sultan of Morocco in favour of the Jews. He is a very worthy old man, and deserves this honour.

Lord Russell hopes your Majesty will not prolong your stay at Balmoral beyond the day fixed by your Majesty. Matters are now coming to a crisis, either for peace or war, in the affairs of Denmark and Germany.

The Duke of Coburg to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*] BALMORAL, 1*st June* 1864.

DEAR VICTORIA,—The favourable change that has taken place in the Conference in the Dano-German conflict is after a long time once more a ray of light, and Germany knows very well what it owes to your mild views and your firm will with reference to it. . . .

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

37 CHESHAM PLACE, 3*rd June* 1864.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he has

reason to think that the misrepresentations current concerning your Majesty's part in the contest of Germany and Denmark have been in a great degree checked and controlled by Lord Russell's language in the House of Lords. Certainly nothing but error both in Germany and in England could have given any degree of credit to those perversions of truth. For nothing could be more constitutional than the course which your Majesty has pursued.

The Prince of Wales has spoken to Lord Russell with a view to his seeing from time to time copies of despatches, as well as the précis to be furnished by General Grey.

Lord Russell said he could only obey your Majesty's orders on this subject.

He feels, however, that your Majesty might with advantage from time to time direct that despatches of interest might be sent to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*] *General Grey to Earl Russell.*

Private. BALMORAL, *4th June* 1864.

MY DEAR LORD RUSSELL,—The Prince of Wales seems to be under some misapprehension about the communication of despatches from the Foreign Office; for he seems to think you would have no objection to communicate them to him direct, and thus to keep him acquainted with the policy of her Majesty's Government.

As I have already said, the Queen entirely sympathises in this wish on his part, and thinks it should be gratified as far as possible; and, regulated and controlled, as it would be, by you, there might probably be no great harm in the direct communication his Royal Highness wishes to establish.

But the Queen cannot help objecting to the *principle*, which would be thus admitted, of separate and independent communication between the Prince of Wales and her Government. The principle once admitted, it would be exceedingly difficult to limit the extent to which it might be acted upon.

Were the Prince of Wales to be cognisant of the confidential discussions between the Queen and her Ministers, as to the course to be pursued by this country; and were he to take antagonistic views on any important question (as he probably would have done on this Danish question), great inconvenience, not to say injury, might be occasioned to the public service.

The Queen is sure that you will agree with her in this, and she has written to the Prince of Wales to point out the objections to such direct communication with the Government.

The fact is, the official despatches, when they are communicated, add little to the information on foreign affairs, that has been already obtained through other channels; and I have no doubt that this disappoints the Prince of Wales. I do not, however, see what more could be done, than that the Queen should send him a précis of the most interesting of the despatches which come to her, adding the memoranda sent from the Foreign Office of those not yet forwarded to her, and giving him generally such information as to the policy of her Government as she may deem right.

If an opportunity offers of explaining the nature of the Queen's objections to the Prince of Wales, it may be very useful that you should do so. Her Majesty rejoices in the desire he shows to know what is going on, and his Royal Highness may depend on her doing whatever she properly can to gratify it.—C. GREY.

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Coburg.

[*Translation.*] BALMORAL, *4th June* 1864.

DEAR ERNEST,—I have one thing on my mind which I want to tell you. You speak very hopefully of the result of the Conference, as I also do; but I beg you not to say, that it is owing to me personally when peace is restored. I do not deny that I love Germany dearly and especially our own part of it,

that I have done all I could to restore peace and to effect an arrangement which would offer sure guarantees to both parties, that no such terrible struggle can happen again; but I have always agreed with my Government and must protest against being spoken of separately from it; Albert never allowed that. I have been lately attacked here on account of my German sympathies. Some foolish people have spread the report that I had impeded the Government in its actions. I was very indignant, knowing how unjust these accusations were, but it was retorted that my German relatives had spread these reports in Germany. I am convinced that this is equally untrue, but I would entreat of you not to bring my name forward, nor the small merit which I have had, as it might render my difficult and painful position still more difficult and would not diminish the bitterness of feeling between our two countries, which I am so anxious should soon disappear for their mutual interest's sake. God grant that moderation be shown on the part of Germany in the negotiations which are still to take place; else the feeling in this country will be raised to its highest pitch. However, please God everything will soon be brought to a happy termination.—V. R.

The King of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Substance of letter, abstracted by General Grey.*]

BERLIN, *4th June* 1864.—Acknowledging the efforts of the Queen and her Government to obtain concessions from Denmark which might avert war. The King claims credit, in return, for his moderation, and for his adherence to the Treaty of London, by which, indeed, he had drawn upon himself the ill-will of Germany.

He points out that, although he might have declared himself absolved from the obligations of the Treaty of London on the 1st of January last, he had delayed such declaration, till his arms had been

victorious, and even till the Conference had rejected the proposals made by himself and Austria for an arrangement. After such experience of his conduct, he might have expected that the neutral Powers in Conference would have taken these things into account, and would have made proposals to the victorious party more in accordance with the sacrifices it had made. All Germany expected the separation from Denmark, in absolute independence, of the whole of Schleswig and Holstein united. Instead of which a boundary was proposed which left two-thirds of Schleswig, and the greater part of the purely German districts, to Denmark. The Dannewerke also was to remain to the Danes, who would not fail to fortify that position against Germany; while Germany was asked to pledge herself to adopt no measures of security against Denmark, not even to provide for the defence of the harbours made by nature. These conditions, of which the last was even worse than the surrender of North Schleswig, were not such as could have been accepted if they had been beaten. How then could they assent to them as victors? They were of a nature to wound most deeply the national feeling in Germany, were Austria and Prussia to listen to them. It has only been with difficulty, and the adoption of the most energetic language and measures, that an outburst from Germany has been prevented—occasioned by the belief that it was *wicked* to abide by the Treaty. Now that the Treaty has been officially renounced, even by the neutral Powers, and that Austria and Prussia occupy the country to the north of Jutland, were the expectations of Germany to be disappointed, the King could not answer for the consequences; nor could he, in his conscience, oppose the movement which would be the inevitable result! He would say nothing of the effect that would be produced on a *victorious* army by such a surrender of the demands that had been made! The Queen's own feelings would tell her what it would be.

In consequence of the wide difference as to the line of frontier to be established, the King had proposed to refer the question of nationality, etc., to the people themselves. This principle had latterly been of frequent application; never more justly than it would be in the present case—the fourth campaign in fifteen years in order to decide the question having just terminated. He could not have supposed that the opposition to the application of this principle would have come from countries by which it had been most frequently applied and most loudly supported! He would, however, persevere and again bring the question forward; the more readily, that France had latterly declared herself, conditionally, for it. It would be simply an act of injustice to refuse to hear a demand which had for so many years, and latterly with all the steadfastness of a right and just cause, been put forward by a hitherto oppressed people.

From what he had said, the Queen would see the impossibility of his agreeing to the proposals of the Conference, which she besought him to accept in order to give peace to the world. No one could be penetrated with a stronger desire to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and to prevent even greater. The proceedings in Conference proved how unjustly Prussia had been accused of seeking her own ends in the war that had commenced. But he would not be deterred by the fear of such accusations from renewing the contest, any more than he would by the calumnies directed against himself and his army.

It is in the Queen's power to use her influence with her Government, to make them weigh, fairly and justly, all the circumstances of the question, in order to decide between Peace and War. . . .

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

BALMORAL, 6*th June* 1864.—General Grey, with his humble duty, begs to send your Majesty a letter he has received this evening from Sir Charles Wood. Your Majesty will see, from the manner in which he

speaks of Lord Russell, etc., that the letter was not intended for your Majesty's perusal, but he seems to take so just a view of the subject that has given your Majesty so much annoyance, that General Grey cannot help sending it.

General Grey is afraid there is a good deal of truth in what Sir Charles Wood says, of those about your Majesty not having always been so cautious as they should have been, and believes that he has himself been an offender to a great extent. He certainly has, in the presence of the members of your Majesty's and the Prince of Wales's household, expressed his opinion with great freedom; and he is aware that he has got the character of being very German. He believes, himself, he has only been impartial, but this does not make him regret the less, that his language, with that of others, may, possibly, have given occasion to the attacks on your Majesty. He will be more cautious in future. . . .

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 12*th June* 1864.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he has the honour to state that after a very long discussion in the Cabinet yesterday it was decided that the plan of arbitration for a line to be traced between the German and Danish proposals should be favoured by your Majesty's Government. That, in case this plan should be accepted by the Danes and rejected by the German Powers, in the event of the resumption of hostilities, material aid should be afforded by Great Britain to Denmark.

Lord Russell was desired to speak in this sense to M. Quaade, and he has drawn up for his own use a *Pro Memoria* which he has the honour to enclose.

Pro Memoria by Earl Russell.

In case of a renewal of hostilities between the German belligerents and Denmark, there are three questions to be asked.

1. Is Denmark able to resist the occupation of the whole of Schleswig by the German Powers ?

The answer must be, She clearly is not.

2. Are the neutral Powers likely to come to her assistance ?

Answer : France and Russia have intimated that they will not do so. England and Sweden have not finally pronounced.

3. Are there any terms upon which Great Britain would consent to give material assistance to Denmark, in the future prosecution of the war ?

Answer : If Denmark would agree to submit to arbitration by a neutral Sovereign the question of frontier between Denmark and Germany in Schleswig, such line not to be south of the line indicated by Denmark, nor north of the line suggested by Prussia, and agreed to by Austria, Great Britain might, in case of the refusal of this proposition by the German belligerents, consent to afford material assistance to Denmark in the future prosecution of the war.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12*th June* 1864.—The Queen hears with *much* regret of the decision at which the Cabinet has arrived—for it amounts to this : that if the Danes accept and Germany refuses the offer of arbitration, England will be pledged to declare war against Germany !

Considering existing circumstances and the feeling of the country, the Queen will not say that she will *ultimately* withhold her consent to the proposal of the Government, *should it be* for the *interests of this country*. It appears, however, to the Queen to be *too important* a decision to be arrived at without the *fullest consideration*. Have the Government contemplated the *nature* of the assistance it would be in their power to afford to Denmark ? the possibility, if not probability, of France taking the opposite side, of Russia and Sweden continuing to stand aloof ; not

to speak of the effect it would have in uniting Germany to a man in the quarrel ?

The Queen *shudders* to think of the position in which *this* country would thus be placed—standing alone in support of Denmark against all Europe !

Under *no* circumstances should a threat of affording material aid be a *one-sided* measure. In order to take away its offensive character it should be so worded as to show to *both* belligerents, that *whichever* side objected to a proposal, which must be regarded as equitable in itself, would forfeit all claim to the support of the English Government. The Queen thinks it would commit her Government less and would probably be more likely to be successful, were some such expression used instead of a peremptory threat of affording material aid to either party.

The Queen cannot but think that, were it known to Austria and Prussia, that the conditions respecting Rendsburg and Kiel would not be insisted upon, they would be better disposed to agree to arbitration respecting the frontier.

The Queen would wish her letter to be brought before the Cabinet *before any further step* is *taken*, and with as little delay as possible.

Sir Charles Wood to Earl Granville.[1]

India Office, 13*th June* 1864.

Dear Granville,—I do not consider that the Cabinet pledged itself to the extent quoted in Lord Russell's enclosed *Pro Memoria*. I send the letters to you, and if you agree will you write to C. Grey and tell him ? Yours ever, C. W.

I do not consider myself pledged to go to war.

[*Earl Granville's note on above letter.*]
Private.

I agree with Charles Wood, and doubt whether any members of the Cabinet will be of opinion that we came to any decision of the kind.

[1] Submitted, with note, by Lord Granville to the Queen.

There are some who, I am sure, will not consent at present to any such decision.—G.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

PAVILION IN THE CAMPINE, 15*th June* 1864.

MY BELOVED VICTORIA,—I received yesterday your dear letter of the 13th, and the departure of the regular messenger gave me the means of writing immediately to General Grey in answer to his statement, reserving a fuller answer for to-day. I can well understand the agitation which must have caused the unexpected *tournure* of things. The game of the Danes is to *resist and to draw England* into the struggle in its favour.

A one-sided threat against Germany would necessarily have for effect that the Danes would refuse everything. . . . Where England is in its right, is to declare that she will not allow any attempt on Funen; this is a question of European interests, and if something of the kind were not done I fear the Cabinet would be upset.

The Germans cannot be satisfied with the proposition of that slice of Schleswig from Eckernforde to Friedrichstadt; that is next to nothing and would make the position of three-fourths of Schleswig worse than before.

As things stand, your Cabinet must be brought to *consult* Schleswig. They acted in this way in Italy. . . .

I cannot help saying a few words about Bertie and Alix. You will recollect when first Albert spoke to me about Alix that he said, We take the Princess, but *not* her relations. That might have remained as he wished for years, without the death of our cousin of Denmark. That of a sudden gave us a *Danish* Princess, and the consequences of a Constitution which even the late King had *not* sanctioned. Our own *dreadful* loss put Bertie and Alix *forward*; he and his wife are *constantly before the public in* EVERY

IMAGINABLE SHAPE *and* CHARACTER, *and fill entirely the public mind.*

The English are very personal; to continue to love people they must see them, and even in part touch them: this shows itself by the wish to get something that belongs or belonged to them; it must be palpable. This state of affairs gives the young couple great influence on all classes, and is even calculated to influence the Cabinet, and to strengthen the Opposition, which would be quite powerless on that question without the strong popular feeling.

Vicky little dreamt, in selecting a charming Princess, that she would become a source of difficulties for England, and perhaps the cause of a popular war against Prussia. I have no doubt the great majority in England would *like a war with Prussia*, and even buying the support of the French by conceding to them the left bank of the Rhine, regretting it when too late. As matters stand, the dividing of Schleswig is unavoidable; in Germany they claim even the *whole* of Schleswig, and the awkward part is that the Germans *have it*, and that immediate material means to turn them out don't exist, as it would require at least a hundred thousand English troops to effectuate it. To conclude, you as Sovereign have the right to say to your Ministers, Your principles have always been everywhere, and particularly in Italy, that the peoples have a right to choose their Government. Schleswig must be consulted, or, if that should be considered dangerous, as probably the whole Duchy would claim a separation from Denmark, an arbitration must take place that will satisfy the great part of Schleswig.

I write by your messenger to Pilgerstein. I do it rarely, but I know that it generally makes an impression on him; he is to be feared; Johnny is much more impartial and reasonable. And now God bless you. May you have sufficient patience to read so long a letter! Ever your devoted Uncle, LEOPOLD R.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16*th June* 1864.

BELOVED UNCLE,— . . . Only imagine that Johnny had again stated to me *what* he proposed most dangerously—*without* the slightest authorisation from the Cabinet ! ! ! And this for the *third* time ! Is it not too bad ? The others were all very angry, and indeed the whole Cabinet, including Pilgerstein, seems to be of the opinion that the responsibility and risk for this country to go to war single-handed would be *too* enormous—moreover without the means (partial as the assistance would be) of doing almost anything. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16*th June* 1864.—After luncheon saw Mr. Gladstone, who told me what had passed at the Cabinet. Lord Russell had read my letter, upon which the Cabinet all at once said they had never authorised him to inform me that they had decided on offering arbitration, which if not accepted by Denmark, and refused by Germany, would entail England's giving material aid to Denmark. It was very serious and disagreeable for me to receive on repeated occasions such unauthorised decisions from Lord Russell, and ones of such magnitude. The Cabinet all felt that the moment had not yet come to consider whether material aid should be given, and certainly not until an answer had been received from Denmark, saying whether arbitration would be accepted if proposed. This answer could not be received before some days. During the Cabinet a letter had arrived from Count Bernstorff saying the Prussians had fresh proposals to make, respecting the boundary, and Lord Russell was to meet him as well as the other Plenipotentiaries to-day. "It seems," Mr. Gladstone said, "to have been the practice never to meet the German Plenipotentiaries alone, and never to propose anything but what the

Danes would let us say," which he and I both agreed in thinking very odd, and a very bad plan. Lord Palmerston, who had all along been for partial assistance, seemed to be fully alive now to the impossibility of doing this single-handed. The French Plenipotentiaries had received instructions to propose, as a last resort, should everything else fail, to decide by vote of the populations what their feelings were as to the boundary. This the Prussians, as well as the Confederation, approved, but Austria and Russia disliked. The Cabinet had been very satisfactory, inasmuch as everybody was in no way pledged to any kind of action; some indeed there were who thought that under no circumstances material aid should be given; and indeed Mr. Gladstone said he was much inclined to that himself, for the responsibility of this country alone going to war would be too serious and too heavy, unpledged as we are by any promise. The country had no wish whatever to go to war, and their excitement arose entirely from misapprehension of the question. Lord Russell seemed to think this country would be humiliated if we suffered more to be done. There is no doubt we had given the impression of taking too active a part and encouraging Denmark, which we must never do again.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

Downing Street, 18*th June* 1864.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty and humbly begs to say that the Conference opened by Count Bernstorff announcing that, in the opinion of his Government, the population of the Duchy of Schleswig should be consulted in whole or in part as to whether they will belong to Denmark or Germany.

MM. Quaade and Krieger declare that, as Schleswig is an integral part of the Danish Monarchy, the whole of Denmark should be consulted on the subject.

Baron Brunnow, on principle and in the strongest terms, protests against the Prussian proposal as being

at variance with public law and having for its object to depose the King of Denmark by his own people under the pretext of tracing a frontier.

Count Apponyi accepts the Prussian proposal with certain modifications.

Count Bernstorff then read another declaration recording the reasons why his Government considered itself absolved from the obligations of the Treaty of London, upon which a long discussion took place as to the new and subversive principles that Prussia seemed disposed to introduce into the public law of Europe. It was acrimonious and unsatisfactory, and, when coupled with other declarations made later by the Prussian Representatives, must be taken as a proof of the very unconciliatory disposition that now animates the Prussian Government.

Lord Russell then read his proposal that the belligerent Powers should have recourse to the good offices of a friendly Power according to the principle adopted by the Congress of Paris; but the German Representatives insisted that no allusion should be made to the line of frontier south of Apenrade and north of Flensburg, which they had proposed, as it had not received the final assent of the Prussian Government, although Count Apponyi at the last meeting had announced that he was instructed to support it.

Lord Russell's proposal was cordially supported by the Russian, French, and Swedish Representatives; it was objected to by Baron Beust, who said that the Confederation would not refuse mediation, but would reject any form of arbitration.

The Plenipotentiaries all admitted that they were aware of Lord Russell's proposal, but said that they had not yet received definitive instructions on the subject, and the next meeting of the Conference was fixed for Wednesday the 22nd. Count Apponyi told Lord Clarendon privately that his reason for wishing so long a postponement was that on Monday next the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia and

MM. de Rechberg and Bismarck were to meet, and that he *hoped* that the result might be peaceful and conciliatory instructions to their Representatives here.

M. de Balan then read a declaration that nothing would prevent the recommencement of hostilities but stringent conditions under which an armistice must be concluded for six months.

Count Bernstorff also read one declaring that, if the Danish blockade was renewed and was not effective, Prussia would consider herself disengaged from all the obligations respecting maritime law recognised at Paris and should issue letters of marque to privateers.

Upon this strange and unwarrantable announcement a long discussion and strong protests ensued, with which it is unnecessary to trouble your Majesty, but Lord Clarendon cannot avoid expressing his opinion that at this moment the intentions of Prussia are *not* pacific.

Lord Clarendon begs to transmit a copy of the paper read by Lord Russell.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21*st June* 1864.—Saw Lord Palmerston as soon as I arrived, and found him very sensible, wonderfully clear-headed, and fully alive to the extreme dangers of the situation. Showed him a telegram from Copenhagen, which made it clear that the Danes were not inclined, at any rate, to accept arbitration in its complete form, which of course would render it useless. He did not apprehend the great danger of the whole of Germany being united as one man against us, though he thought matters most serious. The greatest danger he saw from France joining us was dragging us into a war, in which she would claim the Rhine, and possibly revolutionise the whole of Italy. He also entirely agreed with me that it was very doubtful whether we could do anything, for nothing but naval assistance

could be given, and that only for three months. Would *that* not therefore be more humiliating for England than doing nothing at all? He felt this very strongly and said the Danes were the most obstinate people he knew; "they are not an intelligent race and very *borné*." He had told Quaade again and again that they were going on to their own destruction, for no one would help them. The very outside of any assistance they could get from here would be by sea, and that was very doubtful. He still hoped that matters might be arranged peaceably, the difference being so very small, and no stone should be left unturned to effect this.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 22*nd June* 1864.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to express his regret that the proposal of arbitration has been rejected and that the Conference will meet on Saturday for the last time.

Count Bernstorff, speaking for Austria as well as Prussia, said that they should be ready to accept the *mediation* of a neutral Power not represented in the Conference, on condition that they shall have a veto upon the line of frontier that might be drawn and that an armistice of long duration is agreed to.

M. Quaade expressed regret and surprise that the English Government had not adhered to the line they had originally proposed—the only one which Denmark, even unwillingly, could adopt; and after all that had passed he entirely declined reference in any form to another Power.

Lord Russell expressed his regret at these decisions and said that, if arbitration was refused, he feared that mediation upon the footing desired by the German Representatives would be an idle form.

Baron Beust would accept mediation but not arbitration.

The French Ambassador then as a last resource

proposed that the *mixed populations* should be consulted *par communes*—all foreign force leaving the country and Commissioners being sent to superintend the accuracy of the appeal. Count Apponyi objected to this course, Count Bernstorff said he would take it *ad referendum*, but M. Quaade refused even to bring it to the cognisance of his Government.

Lord Clarendon resumed all the circumstances under which the so-called *English* proposal had been originally made, and the Russian and French Ambassadors adhered to his statement.

All attempts to induce a prolongation of the armistice were made in vain.

Lord Clarendon begs to transmit a protocol of the last Conference.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

Windsor Castle, 22*nd June* 1864.—The Queen has naturally learnt with deep concern that the *hopes* that arbitration or the proposal of the French to take by vote the opinion of the mixed populations would be accepted have been frustrated by the *total refusal* of *every*thing by the Danes.

Lord Palmerston entirely agreed with the Queen yesterday that no stone should be *left unturned* to try and prevent the resumption of hostilities, and mediation the Queen thinks *might* still be tried, as the German Powers would *all agree to that.* But *what can* be done if *Denmark insanely and incredibly refuses every proposal* but the *one* line, which we know the other parties never could be brought to agree to, and which the King of the Belgians wrote to the Queen the other day it was *utterly impossible* the Germans could accept with any chance of security for the future.

Lord Russell's proposal, which was *not yet* sanctioned by the Government, was to give material aid (merely by sea) to Denmark, *if* she *accepted arbitration*; but she has *absolutely refused* that, as well as

mediation and the *last French proposal*! *All* chance of bringing *her* to reason seems therefore hopeless, and the Queen cannot but think that this country would do best were she to declare that, after repeated efforts of one kind or another which were first refused by one side and then by the other, she has *no other course* but to *withdraw* and to refuse to take *any further part* in this *lamentable* contest.

The French are evidently most anxious (from Lord Cowley's letters) to get *us* into the quarrel and to set *all* Europe in a blaze by rousing Italy, and by getting the *Rhine*! *All* this points to *our* keeping out of it altogether.

The Queen concludes the Cabinet will meet to-morrow and perhaps they will hit upon some further pacific measure; but she owns she fears the *total refusal* of the Danes, which puts *them entirely* in the wrong, seems to preclude all hope of this.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23*rd June* 1864.—The Queen returns Lord Cowley's letters, which alarm her very much.

If the Emperor sanctions and is sincere in the half overtures made by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, she trembles at the nature and extent of the contest in which he would engage us, in alliance with France and Italy against the rest of Europe.

It seems, however, to the Queen, that the Emperor has no serious intention of involving himself in a war with united Germany, supported by Russia, in which, whether on the Rhine or in Italy, the whole brunt of the struggle must fall on France, and that he has made these overtures either under the influence of pique at the meeting of Sovereigns at Kissingen or Carlsbad, or, which is still more likely, that he hopes to lead England so far in support of Denmark as to make it impossible for us to draw back with honour.

We should thus find ourselves, if we listened to

such overtures, in the *very* position in which it has been the object of the *Emperor* to place us, and that of *her* Government to *avoid*, that, viz., of being *committed* to afford *single-handed* an *ineffectual* assistance to Denmark in the renewed hostilities which now seem imminent.

The Queen would refer Lord Russell to a letter she wrote last night to Lord Palmerston, on hearing of the termination of the Conference. Though hastily written she can add little to what she there says, and she will only repeat that the *more* she *reflects* on the present state of affairs the more she is convinced that the *interests* of *this country* imperatively demand that we should avail ourselves of the opportunity offered by the *total* rejection by Denmark of *all proposals* either of mediation or arbitration, to declare to her in the most explicit manner, that, if hostilities were in consequence renewed, she must look to no aid from us, and that we should withdraw from all further attempts to reconcile the unhappy differences between her and Germany.

The German acceptance of " good offices " leaves a hope that they might resolve into arbitration ; the peremptory refusal of everything by Denmark excludes all hope whatever.

The Queen would wish, as usual, that her letter be communicated to the Cabinet.

P.S.—Lord Cowley seems to have gone a little far in " making capital " of what, as far as the Queen knows, never occurred.

Was any proposal made for arbitration—*the Emperor arbitrator* ?

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 23*rd June* 1864.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to submit a letter of Lord Bloomfield's which only shows that, while Austria follows Prussia, she dislikes and distrusts her.

The more Lord Russell reflects on the present position of affairs, the more difficult does it appear to him not to assist Denmark in her extremity, and the more evident does it become that that assistance will be inefficient unless France joins in it.

But then comes the question, what will France require as the price of her alliance with England in checking the ambition of Germany, and is it the interest of England to pay that price ?

Such are the momentous questions which must be considered in the Cabinet of to-morrow, and, until the Cabinet has considered them, discretion commands the greatest caution.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23*rd June* 1864.—The Queen has just received Lord Russell's letter and is glad to see that he shares (as she was sure he would) her great alarm at the designs of France, and of what an alliance with her against the rest of Europe would entail.

The Queen feels *confident* that Lord Russell and the whole Cabinet will see that, great as are the difficulties of the present crisis, *far greater* are sure to arise from allowing this country to get entangled in a war in which its *interests* are not concerned.

The consequences of such a course may be as interminable as they would be disastrous to the *whole* of Europe.

Sir Charles Wood to General Grey.

Confidential. HOUSE OF COMMONS, 24*th June* 1864.

DEAR CHARLES,—We have had a long and not a conclusive Cabinet.

Decision :

1. Against war single-handed.
2. Against war [in conjunction] with France.

Then came the question :

3. Whether we should be quiet, reserving to ourselves to act or not if the existence of Denmark was threatened ?

4. Or should intimate to Austria that her fleet should not enter the Baltic; and as a variety of this should send our fleet to the Cattegat.

This last was very much disliked as leading to complications in all probability which might end in war; and the opinion against sending the fleet gained ground during the discussion.

I think the Cabinet is very evenly divided; Gladstone, Granville, and I took the decided peace line. My position was that we were quite free in consequence of the refusal of both sides to agree to arbitration; that we stood, as we did in January, on the original proposal to act alone, or, with the European neutral Powers, for an European object; that as regarded the integrity of Denmark that was given up, and that, if its existence was threatened, it would be a new state of things to be dealt with by the other Powers of Europe as well as ourselves.

Granville took the same line, as did Gladstone, and Milner Gibson.

I think that the peace side is the heaviest. We meet again to-morrow at three, and I am in hopes that something will occur at the Conference to-morrow, which will strengthen us. The Emperor has backed out of all that Drouyn de Lhuys said. Yours, C. W.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, *25th June* 1864 (6 p.m.).—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to state that the Cabinet have just come to the following decision:

That the Government do not propose to engage in a war for the settlement of the present dispute, so far as the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein are concerned.

But, if the war should assume another character, and the safety of Copenhagen, or the existence of Denmark as an independent Kingdom, be menaced,

such a change of circumstances would require a fresh decision on the part of the Government.

Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell propose to speak on Monday in the sense of this resolution.

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *25th June* 1864.—General Grey begs, with his humble duty and most heartfelt congratulations, to return these letters to your Majesty. It is, now, not only certain that peace will be preserved, but that the total separation of the Duchies, and the establishment of the Duke of Augustenburg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, is ensured.

Your Majesty may justly take to yourself a principal share in the maintenance of peace; and, if General Grey has been of any assistance, it is only that he has strictly obeyed your Majesty's commands, and given expression, wherever he had the opportunity, to your Majesty's views.

Much will now depend on the manner in which Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell explain the policy of Government to their respective Houses. But General Grey can hardly entertain a doubt that no attempt will be made at a serious attack, which, if successful, would entail on the Opposition the task of settling this question, and make it very difficult for them to avoid war.

General Grey believes with your Majesty that it is only *justice* that will now be done. And it is a gratifying and inspiring thought to him, that he has been permitted in a very humble way to assist your Majesty in giving effect to the policy which the beloved Prince had always at heart.

Again he begs to tender his most heartfelt congratulations to your Majesty.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *25th June* 1864.—The Queen has received with much satisfaction Lord Russell's

report of the decision of the Cabinet, to which she gives her most entire approval; feeling as she does that it is the only true one for the *safety* and *dignity* of this country.

The Queen feels sure that Lord Russell will make his statement on Monday with his usual skill and eloquence, and that he will be able to show that it is not the fault of this Government, if we have not succeeded in our attempts to settle this unfortunate quarrel peaceably.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Clarendon.

[*Copy.*]

Windsor Castle, 25*th June* 1864.—Lord Clarendon will easily believe with what feelings of relief and thankfulness she has received Lord Clarendon's and Lord Russell's letters this evening. The terrible anxiety she experienced, unsupported and uncheered by her beloved great husband (by whose side she went through so many trials and anxieties with a light heart,

> Nor could I weary, heart or limb,
> When mighty Love would cleave in twain
> The lading of a single pain
> And *part* it, giving half to him),

was almost wearing her out; for she felt so alarmed for this country, for Europe, for the world, were we dragged on by a blind infatuation; not to speak of all she would have suffered.

To Lord Clarendon for his great skill, tact, and conciliatory spirit in the management of these concluding Conferences, the Queen's sincerest thanks are due.

The Queen doubts not Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell will make their statements well.

The extremely pacific tone of so many of the newspapers to-day has struck the Queen much.

But now the Cabinet must *insist* on a sensible, conciliatory tone on the part of our Agents abroad—and the threatening, menacing tone *must* be given

up. Cannot Lord Clarendon give some assistance in talking to Counts Bernstorff and Apponyi unofficially, and pointing out what is wished here, and what would prevent further complications? Much more will be effected by such a tone than by bluster and bully, which we see have entirely failed.

The Queen believes that when Denmark sees she won't be helped, she will come to terms much sooner with the German Powers.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, *27th June* 1864.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to state that at the meeting of the House of Commons this afternoon, he presented the Conference protocols and made a statement explanatory of the course of the Danish negotiation. This statement seemed to be well received by the House. Mr. Disraeli with some criticism announced his intention of proposing on an early day a vote of censure on the Government for their conduct in those transactions. He will probably give notice of his resolution to-morrow, and will probably fix it for Thursday. From what he said it would seem that the resolution is to apply, not to the proceedings in the Conference, but rather to the previous negotiations. It will, however, require some dexterity to frame a censure on the Government, without implying that they ought to have advised your Majesty to declare war. . . .

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *30th June* 1864.

MY DEARLY BELOVED UNCLE,—After a week of the greatest anxiety, the only wise and reasonable course *has* been pursued; and *this* country is *safe. I feel* that my darling has blessed and guided me, and that *he* works on for us all. As Kingsley (the celebrated author) said to me on Sunday: "I think that God takes those who have finished their career

on earth to another and greater sphere of usefulness." And *this* is *doubtless* the case. But *why*, *if* the country is so peaceful, did the Press and a certain small circle *talk* so big and abuse Prussia so outrageously? It is very *undignified*. I will not repeat anything, as General Grey has told you all. *It* is satisfactory to see that my *efforts* were not unavailing. . . .

I am sitting and writing (as I do most days) in the dear garden at Frogmore, which is full of beautiful roses.

The third Court (which was quite unexpected) gave much satisfaction, but what did even more was my drive to the *station* through the *full* Park, in my *open* carriage and four; it was *quite unexpected*, and, though *very painful*, pleased people more than anything; and, if done occasionally in *this* way, will I believe go *farther* to satisfy them than anything else always. I was thanked for it, and told how kind they felt it was *of me*.

Everyone said that the difference shown, when *I* appeared, and [when] Bertie and Alix drive, was *not* to be described. Naturally for *them* no one stops, or *runs*, as they always did, and *do* doubly now, for *me*. . . . Ever your devoted, unhappy Niece, V. R.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Windsor Castle, *2nd July* 1864.—Lord Clarendon dined with Lenchen, Louise, Janie E.,[1] and me. He was full of mischievous stories. After dinner he talked long and much of the state of affairs. His great fear was the recklessness of Bismarck leading the Prussians to do something which would again rouse the excitement of the people here. Lord Palmerston had entirely spoilt the end of his speech by the allusion to Copenhagen, "for when one has untied one's hands, one does not tie them again." But we had had a very great escape, for, if the Danes had accepted, after what Lord Russell had said, we

[1] The Dowager Marchioness of Ely

should have been in a very awkward position, the danger of which could not be overrated. The French had been only waiting to see us well engaged and then would have most likely dragged us into a regular European war, going themselves to the Rhine. I said I quite shuddered at what might have happened. He still much fears that there may be a revolution in Denmark, and that the poor King may be sent away, which would make a very bad impression here. Unfortunately he had shown no great moral courage or energy. Spoke of the remarkably peaceful feeling in the country, which seemed at such variance with the intense abuse in the Press here, which we both agreed had been most mischievous and undignified. Lord Clarendon had stopped one proposal at the Cabinet, which had been to the effect to demand of Austria and Prussia to refrain from sending their Fleets to the Baltic. We should have certainly exposed ourselves to a very indignant answer, which would only have lowered our prestige still more. Spoke of the deplorable tone of bullying, which we agreed did us great harm everywhere and lowered the dignity of the country to such an extent. This, Lord Clarendon said, " was certainly essentially Lord Palmerston's introducing, he was the father of that," and we both agreed in hoping this tone would die with him. There had been " an amount of dirty work going on " on the part of the Opposition, whilst the Conference had been sitting, which Lord Clarendon said I could have no conception of, but which had entirely failed, though every means had been employed to act on the Danish Plenipotentiaries.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, *2nd July* 1864.

MY BELOVED VICTORIA,—*You may well be* PROUD *of your success, and our dear Angel will see it with* UNBOUNDED SATISFACTION, *how gloriously you* ACTED *in* HIS SPIRIT. To think also how much mischief

you prevented in this way to poor humanity, must make you feel how important your position is, and how necessary to the country and to your family. I was delighted to see that you had passed in an open carriage through the Park, and how happy it made the people. In this also you act up to what dear Albert would have wished so much, to preserve that great affection which the people always had for you, and which would suffer if they did not see you occasionally. . . .

Perhaps when occasions do offer, you will say something kind to your Ministers; YOU *have saved them*, as they would have clearly got the country into the greatest difficulties, but they had finally to take upon themselves the *present unpopularity* of the decision. This is for an English Minister a most bitter draught to swallow. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Crown Princess of Prussia.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 6*th July* 1864.— . . . In answer to your observations in reply to mine and Lord Clarendon's, I must observe that you entirely misunderstand what was meant regarding peace, and I will quote Lord Clarendon's own words:

"Her Royal Highness has entirely mistaken the meaning of Lord Clarendon, who considered that the *whole* of Schleswig was lost to Denmark, from the moment that the Conference came to an end, and hostilities recommenced; and his *wish*, rather than his *hope*, was, that Prussia might be induced not to push her conquests further, and to annihilate the Danish Monarchy. . . .

"The only wish in England *now*, is that Prussia may be contented with the rights she has acquired by conquest, and not push these rights so far as to blot out Denmark from the map of Europe, and create a feeling *here* which it may be impossible to control."

This is *all* we are now so anxious about. Let Prussia, who is master of the position, be magnanimous. She *can* be so now so easily; she has obtained *all* Germany wished, viz. the severance of the duchies from Denmark and their release from a yoke which had become so hateful to them.

Let Prussia also show that she does not mean to keep them for herself, and I believe all will come right. The shameful attacks against her grieve every right-minded person; and they have brought on the equally intemperate abuse of England in the German Press. But this will wear off, if once peace is made, and there is no attack on Copenhagen, or anything of that kind.

You and I have but one common object, which was beloved Papa's, viz. the prospering of our two countries, and a good and friendly understanding between them. Let us therefore spare no pains to try and bring this about; and it is now in Prussia's power to do this.—V. R.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, *5th July* 1864.— . . . Your Majesty wished to have more than one name submitted for your Majesty's approval, for the appointment to the united cures of Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's, and although this in some degree implies a reference of a recommendation by one of your Majesty's responsible advisers to the judgment of your Majesty's irresponsible advisers in such matters, Viscount Palmerston would submit the names of the Reverend Mr. Conway, Vicar of Rochester, and of the Reverend R. Eyre, Rector of Marylebone. . . .

Mr. Conway, whom Viscount Palmerston would beg to recommend to your Majesty as successor to Doctor Cureton, is a man of ability, having taken a good degree as Wrangler at Cambridge in 1836, is an active Parish Priest, and an excellent preacher. . . .

The Duke of Cambridge to Queen Victoria.

GLOUCESTER HOUSE, *6th July* 1864.

MY DEAR COUSIN,—Sir Charles Phipps called upon me on Monday by your direction, to place me in possession of your views as regards the Prince of Wales's wish to go to Aldershot and stay there for a night or two, and I think it may therefore be well for me to explain to you fully and frankly, what I should myself advise in the matter. I must tell you that I had myself asked the Prince to fix some day on which he would go with me to Aldershot, upon which he suggested it would be very nice to remain there a day or two. I said to him I could see no possible objection, if you approved, and he then said that he would speak to you about it.

My anxiety that he should now and then go to Aldershot arises from two causes: first, because I am most anxious by every means to keep up that connecting link which binds the Army to the Crown; and, secondly, because I so much wish to give his mind an interest in subjects not immediately connected with amusements. As regards the first of these two grounds, you may fairly say, that you and you alone can carry out this view; and to this I should not have a word to say in reply, were it not that sad circumstances have rendered it impossible for some time past for yourself to see the troops. Such being the case, should no member of the Royal Family evince the interest of the Crown towards the Army by their presence from time to time amongst the troops? I think it of great importance that this consideration should not be overlooked, and I unhesitatingly say, it would be a great advantage; and, as such, who is there, excepting the Prince of Wales, who could possibly undertake this duty?

It might be said that I am myself in a position to do so. I cannot think this, for though undoubtedly, as a junior member of the Family, I might to a certain extent represent the Family myself, still it

cannot be forgotten that I am in an official capacity the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and must always, whilst holding that high office, be looked upon by the troops in the light of the official position I hold. Consequently, it appears to me that, under present circumstances, unless the Prince of Wales at times is seen by the troops, the valuable link I look to must for the time rest in abeyance.

As regards the second object in view, I confess I would wish to see the Prince occupy his mind a little with matters not merely connected with amusements. It is difficult to accomplish this, I know, but an opportunity offers as regards military matters which I think should not be lost sight of. I should like at times to see him at Aldershot with me, when I would like to call upon him to take command of a brigade or even a division under my direction, with a view of accustoming his mind to think and act on the exigencies of the moment. This can only be attained in the manner I propose; but, believe me, it is a very essential and important consideration. As regards the Prince taking upon himself any sort of authority or responsibility, I quite agree with you that that is out of the question, and must not be thought of; but you know me too well not to be assured that I would take care of that. I don't think the Prince ought ever to go to Aldershot or elsewhere unless I am myself present. He has no sort of military authority in his position, which rests entirely with *me*, so long as I am honoured with your confidence as head of the Army. The Prince takes no salutes in my presence, can give no instructions to any military officer, and consequently is entirely in my hands in this respect. That he should have expressed a wish to receive the officers at dinner at Aldershot, of that I know nothing, nor do I think that necessary or even desirable. Indeed if you had rather he did not remain in camp, there is no sort of necessity for his doing so, though I should see no objection to it, if you thought it right to permit it.

But what I do hope is, that you will permit him at times to go with me to Aldershot, and that indeed he might receive some encouragement in his wish to do so.

I hope I may be forgiven for having entered so fully into these details, but I have thought the subject of so much importance that I have ventured to express to you unreservedly my views on a point which I consider worthy of your anxious consideration, and upon which you were graciously pleased to make a communication to me through Sir Charles Phipps. I beg to remain, my dear Cousin, your most dutiful Cousin, GEORGE.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Copy.*]

7th July 1864.—The Queen acknowledges Lord Palmerston's letter of the 5th, and . . . will approve of the Reverend Mr. Conway, Vicar of Rochester, to succeed the lamented Doctor Cureton as Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's.

But she must add that she is much surprised at the tone of Lord Palmerston's remarks, for he can never pretend that the Sovereign has not the right, as everyone else has, to ask anyone she chooses about any person who is recommended for an appointment to her. The Queen makes it a rule, as the Prince did, to make enquiries in various quarters about the qualifications of those who are recommended to her, whether high or low, for appointments, public or private, and then to take her decision accordingly. She has constantly asked for several names, from other departments, to be submitted to her, in order that she might have a choice and decide upon the best. If *one* only is submitted to her, the Queen has no alternative, but either to approve or disapprove.

It cannot be supposed or believed that Lord Palmerston can recommend clergymen upon his own personal knowledge of them, and it does not neces-

sarily follow that the Queen should have such implicit reliance upon Lord Palmerston's information, as not to wish to have the power to consider the comparative merits of more than one candidate, submitted by the Minister, before giving her sanction to the appointment.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, *8th July* 1864.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and understands that your Majesty will, before this reaches the Castle, have been informed by telegram that the Government had to-night a majority of eighteen, the question being that the last paragraph of Mr. Disraeli's resolution should be left out for the purpose of inserting in its stead Mr. Kinglake's amendment.[1]

The question put from the Chair being that the words proposed to be left out should stand part of the question, this was negatived and the striking out of the words was affirmed by 313 to 295—majority eighteen. This was a much larger majority than was expected; four was the calculation yesterday, and from six to eight to-day. Several Conservative members went or stayed away. . . .

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

OSBORNE, 14*th July* 1864.— . . . The good news of the Danes *wishing for peace* at *last*, and of course on *any* terms they can get, is a great thing, and I trust will *secure* the tranquillity of *Denmark*, which

[1] The vital paragraph of Mr. Disraeli's resolution ran thus :—" To express to her Majesty our great regret that, while the course pursued by H.M. Government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the capitals of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities of peace." Mr. Kinglake's amendment proposed to substitute the words : " To express the satisfaction with which we have learned that at this conjunction her Majesty has been advised to abstain from armed interference in the war now going on between Denmark and the German Powers." Mr. Kinglake was the historian of the Crimean War.

the ill-usage and forced possession of the duchies never would or could. Prussia must *only* NEVER take it for herself, but let good and much-tried Fritz Holstein have it. Dear little William, Vicky's eldest boy, a sweet, darling, promising child, on whom my own darling *doted*, and who has that misfortune with his poor little left arm, it is, who is come for sea bathing and change of air. Oh! how it reminds me of three years ago, when we spent that last peaceful and happy (though much saddened by dear Mama's loss) summer all *together*! And the dear child remembers his dear *grandpapa*! . . .

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

OSBORNE, 16*th July* 1864.— . . . The Queen is truly rejoiced at the armistice and intended negotiations for peace, which seems *at last to be* seriously intended; the Queen doubts not this is the *result* of the *peace policy* here, and of the vote in the House of Commons. She is convinced that Denmark will be stronger and far safer *without* than with even *any* portion of the duchies.

Baron Blome to General Grey.

HANOVERIAN LEGATION, 17*th July* 1864.—The Hanoverian Chargé d'Affaires, Baron Blome, presents his compliments to Lieut.-General the Honble. Charles Grey, and has the honour to enclose a copy of the *Deutsche Nordsee-Zeitung*, which in its leading article expresses the thanks due to her Majesty the Queen from the whole of Europe and especially from Germany, for having preserved the peace of the world. As the language of the *Deutsche Nordsee-Zeitung* truly represents the sentiments of his Majesty the King of Hanover, and as such will perhaps interest her Majesty the Queen Victoria, Baron Blome takes the liberty to request Lieut.-General the Honble. Charles Grey to be so kind as to put the enclosed before the eyes of her Majesty the Queen.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 26*th July* 1864.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to say that he told Lord Palmerston this morning how greatly it would promote your Majesty's comfort and the public good if, during the holidays and the absence of the Cabinet, he would exercise extreme vigilance over all that was written, and recommend extreme caution as to what was spoken upon foreign affairs.

The result of a long conversation was satisfactory, as Lord Palmerston admitted that experience had shown the necessity of caution, and he hoped that the assurances, which he would give your Majesty on the subject, would be tranquillising to your Majesty's mind. . . .

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Sir John Lawrence.*

OSBORNE, 26*th July* 1864.—The Queen ought and meant, long ere this, to have acknowledged Sir J. Lawrence's letter of the 21st January, with very satisfactory accounts of the state of her great Indian Empire. She regrets that he has not written again, but hopes to hear soon from him an account of the different places he has visited, and the state of the people and country.

Sir John will, she trusts, everywhere express the deep interest the Queen takes in the welfare of her Indian subjects, and how doubly she feels this interest, as her beloved great husband took so very deep an interest in India, and was constantly occupied with everything which could lead to the development of the resources of that great Empire, and to the prosperity and kind and just treatment of the natives; the Queen feels this a sacred legacy, and wishes that her dear husband's great name should ever be looked upon with love by her Indian subjects.

The Queen concludes with every wish for Sir J. Lawrence's good health and prosperity.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, *8th Aug.* 1864.—The Queen is extremely glad to hear of the intended exchange between Sir A. Buchanan and Lord Napier, which she is sure will tend to a good understanding between England and Prussia. . . .

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, *16th Nov.* 1864.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to state that at the meeting of the Cabinet yesterday afternoon, a conclusion was come to, that, all things considered, it would be advisable to yield to the strong objections urged by the Australian Colonies against the continuance of transportation to the colony of West Australia.[1] The objections are indeed not in themselves well founded, and the colony of West Australia is itself desirous, for the present, to receive additional labourers, even though they be convicts. But the other Colonies are far more populous and important than West Australia, and as their feelings on this point are strong and settled, it will be good policy to give way to them. Mr. Cardwell is to prepare a despatch to this effect.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Draft.*]

27th Nov. 1864.—The Queen returns the correspondence sent by Lord Palmerston, between himself and Mr. Gladstone.[2]

She has read it with the most careful attention, and must express her cordial and unqualified approval of every word said by Lord Palmerston.

The Queen cannot express too strongly her

[1] The Queen expressed, in reply, strong doubts as to the soundness of this decision ; but it was carried out, and the system came to an end early in 1865.

[2] A correspondence in which Mr. Gladstone advocated and Lord Palmerston resisted a reduction of military force.

anxiety that her Government shall not allow their deliberations as to the amount of force to be kept up for the coming year, to be influenced by any considerations connected with the elections, or, indeed, by any other consideration than what the honour and safety of the country may demand. She feels that she may rely implicitly upon Lord Palmerston to prevent any hasty and ill-advised reduction in our Army or Navy—any reduction in which the Queen thinks would not be justified by the present aspect of affairs abroad, and which, like most former reductions, would probably prove to be anything but an economy in the end.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *8th Dec.* 1864.—The Queen would wish to say with reference to what Lord Russell said to her this morning about the opening of Parliament, that she would be thankful if he would take any opportunity that might offer to undeceive people upon that head.

The Queen was *always* terribly nervous on *all* public occasions, but *especially* at the opening of Parliament, which was what she *dreaded for days* before, and hardly ever went through without suffering from headache before or after the ceremony; but *then* she had the *support* of her dear husband, whose presence alone seemed a tower of strength, and by whose dear side she *felt safe* and *supported* under *every* trial.

Now this is *gone*, and no child can feel more shrinking and nervous than the poor Queen does, when she has to *do* anything, which approaches to representation; she dreads a Council *even*.

Her nerves are *so* shattered that *any* emotion, *any* discussion, *any* exertion causes much disturbance and suffering to her whole frame. The constant anxieties inseparable from her difficult and unenviable position as Queen, and as mother of a large

family (and that, a *Royal family*), without a husband to guide, assist, soothe, comfort, and cheer her, are *so* great that her nervous system has no power of recovery, but on the contrary becomes weaker and weaker.

This being the case, Lord Russell (whose kind consideration she fully appreciated) will at once see that any great exertion which would entail a succession of *moral shocks* as well as very great fatigue, which the Queen must avoid as much as possible, would be *totally out of the question.*

She has no wish to shut herself up from her loyal people, and has and will at any time seize any occasion which might offer to appear amongst them (painful as it ever is now), provided she could do so without the fatigue or exertion of any *State* ceremony entailing full dress, etc.

Lord Russell may make what use he chooses of the *substance* of this letter.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

Pembroke Lodge, 18*th Dec.* 1864.—Mr. Delane[1] has promised not to insert any fresh article on the Queen's seclusion before December next.

Lord Russell hopes your Majesty saw the articles in the *Daily News*, *Morning Post*, and *Observer.*

[1] Editor of *The Times*, 1841–1877. See Introductory Note for the remonstrances of *The Times* on the Queen's seclusion. The whole matter is treated in detail in Sir E. Cook's *Delane of The Times*, pp. 143–154.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER IV

THE spring of the year 1865 brought at last the end of the Civil War in America through the complete triumph of the Federal arms. Early in April, Richmond, the Confederate capital, was occupied by the Federal troops; and the Confederate armies, after suffering heavy defeats, surrendered. In the moment of victory President Lincoln, who had just entered upon his second term of office, was murdered on 14th April, in the theatre at Washington, by J. Wilkes Booth, who had been an actor; and an unsuccessful attempt was made the same night on the life of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State. Mr. Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, succeeded to the Presidency. With the close of the war the diplomatic controversy between America and Great Britain on the depredations of the *Alabama* and similar vessels became more acute. The United States pressed for a reference to arbitration; but Lord Russell would not advance further than a joint commission to settle mutual claims between the two countries—a proposal which the United States declined. Owing to the tension between the two governments and peoples, the question of the defence of Canada occupied public attention both in Canada and in Great Britain.

The question of Parliamentary Reform was revived this year in Parliament, and an important discussion took place on the second reading of a bill brought in by Mr. Baines to lower the elective franchise in boroughs. Lord Palmerston's Government, through Sir George Grey, expressed a tepid adhesion to the principle; but a considerable section of the Liberal party, headed by Mr. Lowe and Mr. Horsman, repudiated "that particular form of government called Democracy"—a repudiation in which Mr. Disraeli joined, while professing himself in favour of "lateral reform—the extension of the franchise, not its degradation." The bill was shelved by the decisive majority of 288 to 214; but in the General Election in July, which mainly turned on the question of confidence in the popular veteran Lord Palmerston, Reform was kept to the front by Mr. Bright and the

Radicals. Though Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, lost his seat for Oxford University and had to seek refuge in a Lancashire county division, the Government in general greatly improved its position, winning 24 seats on balance. Three months later, on 18th October, Lord Palmerston died in his 81st year, in harness to the last; and Lord Russell succeeded him as Prime Minister, with Mr. Gladstone as Leader of the House of Commons. Both Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone were known as convinced Reformers, and it was expected that the question would be taken up in earnest by the reconstructed Ministry. Meanwhile their immediate attention was claimed by a severe outbreak of cattle disease in Great Britain, and an alarming development of Fenian Conspiracy in Ireland.

Through all the first half of the year there were acute controversies in Germany as to the future of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Eventually a convention was signed between Austria and Prussia at Gastein on 10th August, under which Schleswig was to be administered by Prussia and Holstein by Austria, the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, favoured apparently by the people of the duchies, by most of the Minor States of Germany, and by the Diet, being entirely disregarded. The convention was badly received both within Germany and outside; and Queen Victoria, who visited that country in the last part of August and the first part of September, in order to unveil a statue of the Prince Consort at Coburg, endeavoured, but in vain, to avoid a meeting with King William, so highly did she disapprove of his conduct. As a result of her Majesty's visit, Princess Helena was betrothed in the late autumn to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, younger brother of the Duke of Augustenburg—an alliance which was not well received in Berlin.

At the end of the year the Queen suffered by far the heaviest loss she had experienced save that of her husband, in the death, on 10th December, after many months of painful illness, of her beloved uncle, King Leopold I of Belgium, who had been to her almost as a father throughout her life, and on whom she had especially leant for comfort and support since her widowhood.

The second son of the Prince and Princess of Wales, now King George, was born on 3rd June of this year.

BOROUGH OF YORK PUBLIC LIBRARIES
Miller Grove
BRANCH

CHAPTER IV

1865

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

Downing Street, 20*th Jan.* 1865.— . . . The Cabinet have yesterday and to-day been considering the plan for fortifying Quebec, and the amount to be proposed for the Army and Navy services for the ensuing financial year.

Mr. Gladstone has been as troublesome and wrong-headed as he often is upon subjects discussed in Cabinet. He objected strongly to fortifying Quebec, and insisted upon a considerable reduction in the number of men for the Navy. The whole Cabinet, however, was against him, with the exception of Mr. Milner Gibson, who feebly supported him, and the Duke of Argyll, who put in a word or two in his favour. It has been, however, pretty well decided that a sum of fifty thousand pounds shall be put into the Army estimates, for the purpose of making a beginning of the fortifications of Quebec. The estimate for the whole work is two hundred thousand pounds, but fifty thousand will cover the expense of all that can be accomplished in the ensuing summer. The Canadians are disposed to spend four hundred and fifty thousand pounds in fortifying Montreal, and according to Colonel Jervois[1] those two points

[1] Lieutenant-General Sir William D. F. Jervois, R.E., Director of Works for Fortifications at the War Office, who had recently been sent to North America to advise on Canadian defence. Afterwards Governor successively of the Straits Settlements, South Australia, and New Zealand.

made safe will constitute the best foundation for the defence of Canada.

Mr. Gladstone at great length urged a reduction of five thousand men in the Navy, but the great majority of the Cabinet were against such a measure, considering the very hostile spirit towards England which pervades all classes in the Federal States; and looking to the probability that, whenever the Civil war in America shall be ended, the Northern States will make demands upon England which cannot be complied with, and will either make war against England or make inroads into your Majesty's North American possessions which would lead to war; and it is felt by the majority of the Cabinet that the best security against a conflict with the United States will be found in an adequate defensive force. Mr. Gladstone seems disposed to yield to the strong opinions of his colleagues; and as a way to let him down easy from the uncompromising declarations with which he began that he would be no party to proposing the vote for the number of men recommended by the Duke of Somerset, a Committee of the Cabinet is to meet on Friday of next week or on Saturday to go through the Naval estimates, and to see if any reduction can safely be made in any of the other heads of the Naval service.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

Pembroke Lodge, *5th Feb.* 1865.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he has received Sir Charles Phipps's letter concerning Captain Cameron.

He is sorry to say it is true that Captain Cameron is imprisoned, and that the various means hitherto resorted to have failed to procure his release.

The King of Abyssinia wished to be invited to come to this country, and to be assisted against the French; and, as these requests could not be complied with, he imprisoned the Consul and missionaries.

Lord Russell has desired a Memorandum to be

drawn up at the Foreign Office, narrating the circumstances.

Of course it would be useless to employ force, but continued efforts will probably procure the release of the Consul.[1]

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 12*th Feb.* 1865.—Saw Sir C. Wood about a 2nd or 3rd class of the Star of India, which is to be established, and which he says is quite in consonance with what dearest Albert wished. Then talked of my statue for Bombay and one of him, which they wish to have in the museum there. Also talked of America and the danger, which seems approaching, of our having a war with her, as soon as she makes peace; of the impossibility of our being able to hold Canada, but we must struggle for it; and far the best would be to let it go as an independent kingdom, under an English Prince! But can we stave this off, and who could be chosen? I told Sir C. Wood that dearest Albert had often thought of the Colonies for our sons, but that I had disliked the idea. However, now I felt, once knowing the serious reasons put before me, I could not but entertain the thought, though for Alfred it would not do. For Arthur it might be different.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 17*th Feb.* 1865.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and concludes that your Majesty has seen the secret report of Mr. Archibald, your Majesty's Consul at New York, about the extensive conspiracy now openly carried on [by] the Irish Fenians associated in the United States, in communication, as it is said, with Societies of the same kind in Ireland, England, and Scotland, with a view to getting up a rebellion in

[1] The release was only obtained by the successful Abyssinian Expedition in 1868.

Ireland, in the course of the present or of the next year. Viscount Palmerston would beg to submit that these accounts seem to him to afford additional reasons for the Prince of Wales's visit to Dublin at the opening of the Exhibition.

If the disaffected Irish are plotting an insurrection, it becomes all the more important that the loyal part of the Irish population should be gratified, and that their attachment to the Crown should be warmed and strengthened, by a visit from a member of the Royal Family. There is much truth in the French maxim "Les absents ont toujours tort," and the English saying "Out of sight, out of mind," is also founded in the principles of human nature. The Irish, moreover, are of an impulsive temperament and are very sensitive to kindness or the reverse. It is not a matter of small importance to your Majesty's interests and to those of the Country, whether the Irish people should be attached to or alienated from the Royal Family; and there being no valid reason that could be assigned for a refusal on the part of the Prince of Wales to visit Dublin at the opening of the Exhibition, it is greatly to be desired on public grounds that he should do so.

Sir Charles Phipps to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Draft.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 18*th February* 1865.

MY DEAR LORD PALMERSTON,—The Queen has directed me to answer, for her, your letter of the 16th, with enclosures from Lord De Grey and Lord Wodehouse.[1]

Her Majesty cannot agree in the position assumed by Lord Wodehouse that the Irish are naturally disaffected because they are differently treated in these matters from England and Scotland; the fact being that neither in England nor Scotland have the Prince and Princess of Wales attended such a ceremony as that for which their presence is now solicited.

[1] Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

As, however, there appears to be a very strong desire upon the part of the Irish people that Dublin should be visited by a member of the Royal Family, deputed by her Majesty, and neither Prince Alfred nor any other of the Queen's children would be at that time available, the Queen would have no objection to the Prince of Wales opening this Exhibition for her.[1]

It will be impossible that the Princess can undertake the journey, and the visit of the Prince of Wales must therefore necessarily be a very short one and limited to two or three days.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23*rd Feb.* 1865.—As this draft contains only a report of the conversation Lord Russell has had with Mr. Adams, the Queen cannot object to it, but she would ask Lord Russell whether, having done all we legally can do to prevent the acts of which the Federal Government certainly have just cause to complain, it will not seem (particularly after the language towards England used by Mr. Seward himself) that we are seeking now to defend ourselves from any complicity in such acts in a somewhat undignified manner.

It will certainly be ascribed in the United States to the fear created in England by the late successes of the Federal armies.

The Queen must pause, too, before she gives her consent to the proposed communication to the Confederates being made through the Federal Government. It seems to her not only unnecessarily offensive towards the Confederates, but to place her own Government in the humiliating position of appearing still further to be acting under the dictation of a Government which has not been sparing in the use of insulting and threatening language.

[1] Accordingly the Prince of Wales went to Dublin, and opened the International Exhibition there on 9th May.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

37 CHESHAM PLACE, 24*th Feb.* 1865.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he has had the honour to receive your Majesty's letter of yesterday.

Lord Russell entreats your Majesty to consider the situation in which the Government has been for some time placed.

Your Majesty proclaims neutrality and enjoins your subjects to conform themselves to neutral obligations.

In place of this Messrs. Laird and others conspire to break the law, and to assist the Confederates in their warlike operations.[1] Their contempt of your Majesty's authority, and their attempts, whether from love of gain or passion for war, to disobey and contravene orders issued in conformity with law, are equally notorious. Mr. Canning once said that he hoped this country would never "sneak" into a war. Lord Russell has the same feeling. But ship after ship has been built or bought in your Majesty's ports with a view to force the country "to sneak into a war."

Feeling humiliated and outraged by these proceedings, Lord Russell prepared the letter to Messrs. Mason, Slidell, and Mann, which your Majesty has seen.

When it was considered and approved by the Cabinet, the Lord Chancellor suggested that a copy should be given to the United States Government, who could at once communicate it at Richmond.

Lord Russell adopted this view, which was assented to by the Cabinet, and Lord Russell accordingly, on the 14th instant, gave a copy of the letter to Mr. Adams, and it must by this time be in the hands of Mr. Seward. Of course Mr. Seward will suppose, as he does upon every occasion when your Majesty's Government acts in a manner which he likes, that the British Government is afraid.

But the question is, ought your Majesty's Govern-

[1] See Introductory Note to ch. 1. Messrs. Laird were the builders of the *Alabama*.

ment to refuse to do right, to refuse to act in a manner which is just and honourable, because swaggering and insolent men will say that Great Britain is frightened by the successes of the Federal Government?

Lord Russell avows that he thinks the British Government ought to act a just, impartial, and honourable part, whatever may be the motives to which her conduct may be attributed.

To bring on this country the calamities of war, not because we have a good cause, but because we do not like to be thought afraid, would be a course hardly becoming the dignity, the power, or the humanity of this country.

Lord Russell would have been quite satisfied to send his letter to Messrs. Mason and Slidell by a man-of-war to Charleston. And he regrets that he was not sooner aware of the objections entertained by your Majesty to the course which the Cabinet advised.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 24*th Feb.* 1865.—The Queen returns the draft. She did not mean to object to its being sent, but simply to express her fears that the course now taken by her Government may be misconstrued, and may not, at this late period of the contest, have the effect expected.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 24*th February* 1865
(17 years since the French Revolution).

DEAREST UNCLE,—I *could* not write yesterday, but do so to-day to thank you for your dear, kind letter of the 20th received yesterday.

I am so thankful to see that you are so well again. Now pray tell me *when* you will come to us. Jenner told me it would do you good to change the air, and come here, and we *all* look most anxiously forward to it.

We had snow and frost, and now complete thaw

—and to-day, pouring rain, which has made sad old Windsor look gloomier than ever! But it is full of *precious* recollections—dear beyond measure. I continue to ride daily (I fear to-day I shall not be able) on my pony, and have *now* appointed that *excellent* Highland servant[1] of mine to attend me ALWAYS and everywhere out of doors, whether riding or driving or on foot; and it is a *real* comfort, for he is *so* devoted to me—so simple, so intelligent, *so unlike* an *ordinary* servant, and so cheerful and attentive. . . .

Oh! life goes on; young people are happy, and *I* at 45½ look at *life* as ended! Last Friday was our dear Wedding Day, and would have been our *Silberne Hochzeit*! Oh! and *now*? But I must and *do* ever look back with gratitude unbounded on *that* blessed time, and *live* in that *Vergessenheit.*

God bless you, dearest Uncle. Let me hear that you are well again; and believe me ever, your devoted, unhappy Niece, V. R.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 24*th Feb.* 1865.— . . . The House of Commons was occupied this evening by a debate on Ireland, which at twelve o'clock was adjourned to Monday next. The debate was on a motion by Mr. Hennessy,[2] asking the House to express regret at the diminution of the population of Ireland by emigration, and to assure the Government that the House would support them in the employment of any means to develop the industry and resources of Ireland, so as to prevent any further emigration. The fact is that the Catholic priests see that their fees and endowments are dwindling with the decrease of the population, and they set up their members in the House of Commons to decry it, although it is well known that such emigration is beneficial to the emigrants, and advantageous to

[1] John Brown.

[2] Afterwards Sir John Pope Hennessy, Governor of Barbadoes, Mauritius, and other colonies.

those who remain behind. Mr. Hennessy's speech was moderate in tone, but he exaggerated the evils and distress of Ireland, and did not succeed in pointing out any effective remedies. He dwelt, as did all who followed him in support of his motion, on the benefits which would arise from what in Ireland is called "Tenant Right," but which would more justly be termed "Landlords' Wrong"; and upon the grant of public money for works in Ireland. Colonel French seconded the resolution, and urged the grant of public money for works to prevent the overflow of the Shannon. Mr. Gladstone, in a very good speech, answered these two speakers, and laid down sensible and just rules as to the application of public money to local purposes. Mr. Bagwell supported the motion, went further than Mr. Hennessy, declared [Ireland] to be wretchedly poor, and the people to be generally disaffected. Mr. Dawson descanted on what he deemed the causes of the comparative backwardness of Ireland, and recommended union of classes. He was against the motion. Mr. O'Brien defended Mr. Hennessy and supported the resolution. Colonel Dunne denied that Ireland has made any advance towards prosperity. Sir R. Heygate replied to Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Bentinck argued effectively against the motion. Mr. Monsell[1] deplored emigration, urged Tenant Right, and facilities to enable farmers to buy land instead of emigrating. Mr. Monsell is an organ of the Catholic party, and their object is, by Tenant Right or by sale and purchase, to transfer the lands in Ireland from Protestant landlords to Catholic middle-class men, and thus to lay the ground-work for abolishing the Protestant Church and setting up the Catholic Church in its stead. Sir Robert Peel made a very good speech, proving by a great number of statistical facts that Ireland has made, and is continuing to make, great progress in wealth and well-being. Lord Robert Cecil criticised Mr. Gladstone's speech and arguments,

[1] Postmaster-General 1869–73, raised to the peerage as Lord Emly in 1874.

but came almost to the same general conclusions. Mr. Gregory descanted on the poverty and distress of Ireland, and dwelt pathetically upon the loss of the Galway contract, he being Member for Galway. Mr. Maguire was eloquent in favour of Tenant Right as the great remedy for all the evils of Ireland, and the debate was then adjourned to Monday, on the plea that many other Irish Members wanted to speak.[1]

The fact is that almost every Irish Member will think it necessary to recommend himself to his constituents for the approaching elections, by representing Ireland as grievously oppressed and wretchedly distressed, and by laying, to the charge of the English Government, the badness of the seasons, the want of coal and iron, the scantiness of capital, and all other causes of the backward state of Ireland, as compared with England. But this is the natural course of things, and the Government must learn not to mind these misrepresentations.

Sir Charles Phipps to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

Confidential. WINDSOR CASTLE, 3*rd March* 1865.

MY DEAR GRANVILLE,—The Queen has received from Lord Palmerston a recommendation for the promotion to the House of Peers of Chief Justice Cockburn, and in his letter Lord Palmerston states that he has been frequently urged by you to press this upon her Majesty.

The question is, as you probably know, not a new one, as this peerage has been more than once previously refused upon the ground of the notoriously bad moral character of the Chief Justice.

The Queen is annoyed at having been pressed upon a point which places her in so embarrassing a position. This question of immorality is one into which it is naturally very difficult for her to enter ; and yet one of the great characteristics of her reign has been the careful discouragement of all faults of this description.

[1] The motion was eventually lost by 107 to 31.

She feels *very strongly* upon this subject as a question of duty which she should not shrink from performing, and this impression is much deeper in consequence of the Prince having always enforced this duty by his advice, and particularly as applicable to the case in question.

You will, I am sure, understand that the Queen feels herself disappointed that, when placing herself in a very disagreeable position, in the maintenance of what she considers a high principle, she should be pressed to abandon a position which she has always so anxiously maintained. There can be no personal feeling involved in the question, but a desire to maintain the character and respectability of the House of Peers, and not to confer honour upon one whose character will not bear scrutiny.—C. B. P.

Earl Granville to Sir Charles Phipps.

Private. BRUTON STREET, *4th March* 1865.

MY DEAR PHIPPS,—I have certainly pressed Lord Palmerston several times to ask the Queen to confer a Peerage on the Lord Chief Justice, since I learnt last year that the latter wished that the promise which had been made to him should be fulfilled. I am truly grieved that the Queen should think that I have urged upon Lord Palmerston to press upon the Queen a painful alternative. After what passed when Sir Alexander was made Chief Justice, much discretion does not seem to be now left to her Majesty, and it can be shown that, in following Lord Palmerston's advice, the Queen will not depart from that course which she has consistently pursued.

When Sir Alexander was made Lord Chief Justice he did not wish to be a Peer. Lord Palmerston, however, wrote to him, that the Queen would consent to make him a Peer, at any future time, when Sir Alexander desired it. This promise seems to hold good, unless any new facts as to his previous conduct have been disclosed, or he has been guilty of any misconduct since his appointment as Chief Justice.

Sir A. Cockburn applied for his Peerage, when Lord Palmerston last resigned; the Queen then answered that, as Lord Derby was forming his Government, it would be an ungracious act to create a Peer who would vote against him.

The reasons for making the Lord Chief Justice a Peer are these:—In the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst is dead, all the Law Lords excepting the Chancellor are above 70, three of them between 80 and 90 years of age. Lords Chelmsford, Kingsdown, and Wensleydale (although the latter was made a Peer at the recommendation of Lord Palmerston) vote against her Majesty's Government. The active Law Lords are in such request, that it is difficult to get their services either for commissions of importance or for the Judicial Committee.

The Bench of Judges are dissatisfied at their not being represented in the House of Lords, as they usually have been. To make another Judge a Peer, passing over Sir Alexander's head, would almost necessitate the resignation of the Chief Justice.

Sir Alexander is one of the best speakers in England, and his speeches would add much to the brilliancy of the debates in the House of Lords, both on legal and political subjects. His politics have become moderate.

Lord Russell told me he had agreed with the Queen in her Majesty's objection to the Chief Justice, on the ground of immorality. I do not know whether he had given much consideration to the subject, but his opinion is not shared by Sir G. Grey, Lord Clarendon, and those of my colleagues with whom I have ever spoken about it.

Sir A. Cockburn was immoral as a young man in one line. He has two illegitimate children; and some old Joe Miller stories were renewed and applied to him. In this respect he was not worse than Lord Lyndhurst or Lord Brougham, and there has never been blame imputed to him about money like Lord Lyndhurst, or about jobbing like the other.

He is rich. His daughter is married. The misfortune of his son being illegitimate has the compensation of preventing another pauper or idiot son of a Law Lord being added to the House of Lords.

I have never heard a word said against his private character since he has been Lord Chief Justice. He is much liked by the Bench, and very popular with the Bar. It is difficult to say that a man who acts efficiently, and without any scandal, as her Majesty's Chief Representative in the Administration of Justice, is an unfit person to be a Member of the House of Lords.

I am sorry to write at such length, but it is probable that the Queen cannot have a full knowledge of the facts. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, *7th March* 1865.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The Lord Chancellor[1] made a personal statement, explaining his share in the resignation of Mr. L. Edmunds as Reading Clerk of the House of Lords. It was ably done, the two weak points being his leaving the House in ignorance of the reasons of Mr. Edmunds's resignation, when they decided upon giving him a pension, and his having filled up two of the places made vacant with relations of his own. Lord Derby was very bitter, but he approved of the Committee of Enquiry[2] proposed by the Chancellor. A desul-

[1] Lord Westbury.

[2] The Committee of Enquiry reported that, though they acquitted the Lord Chancellor of unbecoming motives, he ought to have apprised the House of the serious charges against Mr. Edmunds as Clerk of the Patents (a post which he held in conjunction with the clerkship of the House of Lords). Shortly afterwards another scandal arose over the retirement and pension of the Leeds Registrar in Bankruptcy and the appointment of his successor; and the House of Commons, after enquiring into the matter by a Committee, passed a resolution that the evidence in the two cases showed "a laxity of practice and a want of caution with regard to the public interest on the part of the Lord Chancellor" which was "calculated to discredit the administration of his great office." Lord Westbury at once resigned.

tory conversation was continued by Lord Redesdale, Lord Bath, Duke of Montrose, and Lord Granville.

Earl Granville to Sir Charles Phipps.

Private. PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE, *8th March* 1865.

MY DEAR PHIPPS,—Many thanks for your note and enclosure.

It apears from the Minute of the Queen of *1861*, which I return, that the Queen and the Prince were not at that time aware of any promise having been made to Sir A. Cockburn. Lord Palmerston had probably also forgotten it. He was not cognisant of it the other day, when he desired me to answer Sir A. Cockburn, that he would be glad to consider his application, but that he denied there being any promise. Sir Alexander rejoined by sending me Lord Palmerston's letter, the date of which is either 1855 or 1859, but I think the former. The assurance in this letter is perfectly clear, and could only have been written by Lord Palmerston understanding at the time (rightly or wrongly) that the Queen authorised him to make this assurance.

It is very good of the Queen to reconsider this question. I am afraid we often give her Majesty unnecessary trouble by insufficient explanations in the first instance of proposals made to her Majesty. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Palmerston.

[*Draft.*]

13th March 1865.—The Queen has taken some time to consider Lord Palmerston's last letter[1] relative to the promotion to the Peerage of Sir A. Cockburn.

She is naturally at all times unwilling to refuse to accede to measures which her Prime Minister informs her are important, either for the support of the Govern-

[1] Dated 5th March, in which Lord Palmerston expressed surprise at the Queen's hesitation, and ignorance of the grounds of her objection.

ment or for the transaction of business in the House of Lords.

As it appears that a promise was made to Sir A. Cockburn, though unauthorised by her, the Queen will sanction his Peerage[1]; but her Majesty still retains her opinion of the absolute duty, which devolves upon her, of requiring that Peerages shall not be conferred upon any persons who do not in addition to other qualifications possess a good moral character.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 13*th March* 1865.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to state that there has been this evening a long discussion about the defence of Canada, and the relations of England and the United States, and on the whole the result has been satisfactory. Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald began by calling the attention of the House to the subject, but without making any motion. His object was to show that Canada is at present defenceless, that war with the United States is probable, and that the Government ought long ago to have taken measures for Canadian defence. Mr. Forster of Bradford thought war unlikely and counselled goodwill and peace between the two countries. Mr. Cardwell stated in a very satisfactory manner the course pursued about Canadian defence, and said that the relations between England and the United States are at present friendly. Mr. Disraeli made a good and useful speech. He thought it unlikely that the Americans would attack Canada, but it is our duty to defend it, if attacked, but he also argued that steps ought to have been taken sooner. Mr. Lowe made a very absurd speech, contending that it is impossible to defend Canada, and that therefore the British troops ought immediately to be withdrawn. Sir James Fergusson was

[1] Sir Alexander Cockburn never became a peer, although he lived till 1880.

strongly for defending Canada, and Mr. White of Brighton, being a Radical, was for leaving it to its fate. He also explained the Monroe doctrine to be simply an objection to the establishment of any new European Colony in America, but not to mean the expulsion of existing colonists. Sir Frederic Smith said we are bound to defend Canada, but more active measures would be required.

Mr. Watkin,[1] much concerned in Canadian railways, stated the great value and importance of the British North American provinces, and contended that they must be defended; but he thought that some peaceful agreement might be made with the United States. Sir Minto Farquhar was energetically for defending Canada. Lord Elcho[2] was disposed to agree with Mr. Lowe. Mr. Ayrton[3] was all for the Federals, and seemed to think that all they ask ought to be granted. Lord Robert Cecil feared that the English Government would leave Canada to her fate as they had done by Denmark, and contended that Canada ought to be defended. Mr. Bright made a long and certainly able speech in praise of the American Republic and the Federal cause, urging the maintenance of peace. Viscount Palmerston agreed in wishing for peace, and in believing that it is less likely than many suppose that the United States will, when their war is over, attack Canada; but he differed entirely from Mr. Lowe. He thought Canada can be defended, and must be defended, and said that there is no intention to withdraw the British troops. The discussion then ended; and, after a short conversation about nunneries between Mr. Hennessy, Mr. Newdegate, and The O'Donoghue, the House adjourned.

[1] Afterwards Sir Edward Watkin, Chairman of the South-Eastern, Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire (Great Central), and Metropolitan Railways.

[2] A great promoter of the Volunteer movement, and the Wimbledon Rifle Meeting; succeeded his father as 9th Earl of Wemyss in 1883.

[3] Afterwards First Commissioner of Works.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

BERLIN, 18*th April* 1865.— . . . You ask about Christian. You know he is our *Hausfreund.* He comes and goes when he likes, walks and breakfasts and dines with us, when he is here and we are alone. He is the best creature in the world; not as clever as Fritz,[1] but certainly not wanting in any way. He is very amusing when he chooses. We like him very much. He is almost bald; is not like Fritz, more like his father and eldest sister. He has a much better figure than his brother, and quite a military *tournure.* He is not so distinguished as Fritz, of whom I have the highest possible opinion both as regards his character and his intellect.

Christian is very fond of children and speaks English. I send you a photograph of him which he gave me. He has not the fine eyes of his brother, but a better mouth and chin. He has the same way of speaking as they all have.

His position here is not an easy or an agreeable one; but he manages to get on very well. . . .

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

OSBORNE, 27*th April* 1865.

MOST BELOVED UNCLE,—Your two precious little letters of the 23rd and 25th have touched me deeply; that *you* should think of writing *to me* when you *were* feeling weak and unwell is too, too kind. Dr. Jenner has written daily to me, and he laments deeply that you did not in the beginning follow their advice and did *not* take enough nourishment, which would have prevented *all* this sinking and weakness! Beloved Uncle! I *earnestly* and *seriously* entreat you *never* to *neglect* the Doctors' advice *again*, and to think *how* valuable *your life* is for *all Europe*, not to speak of *me* and your children.

We have most extraordinary weather, real July,

[1] Prince Christian's elder brother, the Duke of Augustenburg.

with a *perfectly* cloudless sky and deep blue sea! It is indeed *quite* marvellous and *not* wholesome.

These American news[1] are most dreadful and awful! One never heard of *such* a thing! I only hope it will not be *catching elsewhere*.

I heard from the dear Countess[2] (the extract I sent *you* before was from Vicky), and *she* is *most* favourable to the idea of Prince Christian of Augustenburg, and the thing would now be to *see* how by degrees it could be naturally brought about. I will send you the copy of what she says about it to-morrow. I hope to hear your *dear opinion*. Ever your devoted and unhappy Niece, V. R.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 27*th April* 1865.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty: it has been suggested by Lord Granville and Lord Clarendon, that a very good effect would be produced in conciliating the feelings of the United States, if your Majesty would deign to write to Mrs. Lincoln privately, condoling with her on her bereavement by so cruel a crime. Lord Russell concurs in this suggestion.

Lord Russell submits to your Majesty certain promotions among the Consuls.

Mr. Goldwin Smith to Dean Stanley.[3]

[*Copy.*] Oxford, 27*th April* 1865.

My dear Stanley,—The murder of the President, who was the Ministry not only of clemency at home, but of moderation abroad, so greatly increases the danger to the peace of the world from that quarter, that I feel it almost a duty to let you know how much good might be done, and how much evil might be averted, by a *personal* expression of sympathy from the Queen.

Towards her personally, the affection of the Ameri-

[1] The assassination of President Lincoln.

[2] Countess Blücher, one of the ladies of the Queen of Prussia and a great friend of Queen Victoria.

[3] Submitted by the Dean to her Majesty.

can people, displayed in the passionate enthusiasm with which they received her son,[1] has never abated, in spite of all the bitterness between the two nations. It springs from the deepest part of their character, and survives all political estrangement. She cannot be a greater object of household love and veneration in her own dominions than she still is throughout the Northern States.

The words of a Prime Minister will be civilly acknowledged by the authorities and the Press: they will have no effect on the heart of the people.—GOLDWIN SMITH.

Queen Victoria to Mrs. Lincoln.

[*Draft.*] OSBORNE, 29*th April* 1865.

DEAR MADAM,—Though a stranger to you, I cannot remain silent when so terrible a calamity has fallen upon you and your country, and must express personally my deep and heartfelt sympathy with you under the shocking circumstances of your present dreadful misfortune.

No one can better appreciate than I can, who am myself utterly broken-hearted by the loss of my own beloved husband, who was the light of my life, my stay, my all, what your sufferings must be; and I earnestly pray that you may be supported by Him to Whom alone the sorely stricken can look for comfort, in this hour of heavy affliction!

With the renewed expression of true sympathy, I remain, dear Madam, your sincere friend, VICTORIA R.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 29*th April* 1865.—Wrote to Mrs. Lincoln (widow of President Lincoln), which was much wished, and was quite touched by a letter from Mr. Goldwin Smith (a great democrat), who was so anxious I should write, saying it would do more good than anything else, as I was so much respected in the United States. Told Gen. Grey what to write in answer, how I felt unworthy of

[1] When the Prince of Wales visited America in 1860.

this high opinion of me, but that it was worth struggling on in this wretched life, if I could be of use, could preserve peace and pour balm into wounded hearts! That these many sad and striking events had convinced me more and more of the utter nothingness of this world, of the terrible uncertainty of all earthly happiness, and of the utter vanity of all earthly greatness. That virtue, honesty, fearlessness, truth, unselfishness, and love were the only things truly great and eternal, whether in high or low. That we were alike before God, and that, while difference of position and of rank was necessary and must be supported, one could not be sufficiently loving, kind, and considerate to those beneath one. I felt this strongly, and that sorrow levelled all distinctions. I would as soon clasp the poorest widow in the land to my heart, if she had truly loved her husband and felt for me, as I would a Queen or any other in high position. I would as soon grasp the hand of the humblest peasant who felt for or with me, as that of the highest of Princes! Gen. Grey seemed pleased with what I said, but it really comes from my heart! Such a feeling of humility comes over me, such a wish to forgive any wrong, and to try to make all good!

Mrs. Lincoln to Queen Victoria.

WASHINGTON, 21*st May* 1865.

MADAM,—I have received the letter, which your Majesty has had the kindness to write, and am deeply grateful for its expressions of tender sympathy, coming, as they do, from a heart which, from its own sorrow, can appreciate the *intense grief* I now endure. Accept, Madam, the assurance of my heartfelt thanks, and believe me in the deepest sorrow, your Majesty's sincere and grateful friend, MARY LINCOLN.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

BALMORAL, 8*th June* 1865.

BELOVED UNCLE,—Accept my warmest thanks for your dear, kind letter of the 6th, as well as my

warmest congratulations for dear Charlotte's birthday yesterday. May God bless and protect her, and carry her through all the difficulties which surround her and Max, and which are certainly great!

I am truly grieved to hear you suffer from your dear eyes; but hope that by this time they are well again.

Alix was again confined too soon, but this time only a month; and she is recovering extremely well, and the child is said to be much larger than little Albert Victor, and nice and plump. Bertie seems very much pleased with this second son.[1] I can't deny that I am glad that I am spared the anxiety and fatigue of being with Alix at the time, though I should never *shun* it, if I could be of use to anyone, high or low. I always feel drawn to the sick-bed of anyone, to be of use and comfort.

We have since last Saturday again great heat, with very hot nights, but *such* beautiful weather. The country is glorious in its spring verdure and the blue and pink of the hills, and the evenings indescribably beautiful. It is *not* dark *all* night, and quite broad daylight till near 10. We seldom come in till 9, and yesterday only at 10, having taken our tea with some meat out of doors. It is so quiet, *so* solitary, so peaceful. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 13*th June* 1865.

MY DEAR BERTIE,— . . . I fear I cannot admire the names you propose to give the Baby. I had hoped for some fine old name. Frederic is, however, the best of the two, and I hope you will *call* him so; George only came over with the Hanoverian family. However, if the dear child grows up good and wise, I shall not mind what his name is. Of course you will add *Albert* at the end, like your brothers, as you know we settled *long ago* that *all* dearest Papa's *male* English descendants should bear *that* name, to mark

[1] Now King George V.

our line, just as I wish all the girls to have Victoria at the end of theirs! I lay great stress on this; and it is done in a great many families.[1] . . .

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17*th June* 1865.

BELOVED UNCLE,— . . . We returned here yesterday morning, and I feel *painfully* the change, though Windsor is hallowed to me in so *many*, *many* ways. How delightful it would be to show you our beloved Balmoral, with its glorious scenery and heavenly air, its solitude and absence of all contact with the mere miserable frivolities and worldlinesses of this wicked world! The mountains seem fresh from God's hand, nearer to Heaven, and the primitive people to have *kept* that chivalrous loyalty and devotion—*seen* hardly, indeed *now nowhere*, else!

I am going, alas! to Town for my *last* Reception, which I am *truly* thankful for. I shall have had *six*! I am going first to Marlborough House to see Alix and the new baby, and after the Reception I shall see Leopold and Maria.

I will finish this letter in Town.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE [*Later*].—I have seen our new grandson; he is very small and not very pretty, but bigger than Albert Victor, who is a dear little fellow, was at that age. Alix has recovered very well and seems well, though much *verblüht*.

Things are not in a satisfactory state in America, but I think we need *not* apprehend anything at present. I earnestly trust that there will be no cause for anxiety for Mexico. . . .

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 4*th July* 1865.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to submit for your Majesty's gracious approval that the Great Seal may be offered to Lord Cranworth.

[1] The names given were George Frederick Ernest Albert.

Lord Cranworth is indeed not a man of so much strength and vigour of mind and character as Lord Westbury, but he is highly respected and is much looked up to as an authority in the House of Lords, and, having been Chancellor in a former Government, on the one hand he understands the duties of the office, and on the other hand his reappointment would save to the public the retiring pension which he now enjoys. Sir Roundell Palmer[1] is making a great income at the Bar, and it is believed that he is not desirous at present to retire from the active exercise of his profession; but of course he should be communicated with, before Lord Cranworth's appointment is made out, to explain to him that no disparagement is intended. In fact his services in the House of Commons are for the present very valuable.

The reason why Lord Westbury was advised not hastily to resign was that vague charges of corruption were circulated against him, which a voluntary resignation might have been represented as admitting. Now, on the contrary, those charges were last night abandoned and negatived by the House of Commons, as well as repudiated by the two committees which sat and enquired in the two Houses into the transaction to which the charges related.[2]

Viscount Palmerston has added a few words to the third paragraph of the Speech, to obviate your Majesty's just criticism. The words are, "during the six years of your existence as a Parliament."

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

In the Gardens at Frogmore, *7th July* 1865.—. . . To-day the christening of the new baby takes place, but quietly and not *en grande tenue*. Still, these ceremonies and events are painful in the extreme to me, as you know. You were so kind and good to me on that occasion last year, which was so fearfully

[1] Then Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Chancellor and 1st Earl of Selborne.

[2] See note above, p. 260.

trying. Fortunately it will be of a far more private nature to-day.

I have also another *painful* and disagreeable task to go through *alone* to-day, viz. to receive the Seal from the unhappy Lord Chancellor, who ought never to have been made Chancellor; and shall give the Seal to a former Chancellor, and a most highly respected man, Lord Cranworth. But *what* it is to have to do this ALL *alone*, unprotected, is not to be told, and is dreadful. Nothing but faith, courage, and a sense of duty, could make me put up with it. But it is terribly hard after *22* years of help and protection, to be *alone* again! And in these cases I *must* be alone, no *child can* help me—*no* one! . . .

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

OSBORNE, *3rd August* 1865.

BELOVED UNCLE,—I yesterday received your dear letter of the 1st. I rejoice more than words *can* say at the improved account of your beloved self, and at the *far* more cheerful tone in which it is written. Only, beloved Uncle, keep up your spirits. "Be of good cheer"; persevere with the remedies and you will be sure to get better. . . .

The meeting of so many relations at Coburg, without my darling Angel, will be *most painful* and *trying*. It is just twenty years that we had that *very very* happy meeting at dear Coburg, when you and dear Louise[1] were there! Oh! *how* many are gone, and when one thinks that one of the youngest has vanished!

In Germany things look rather critical and threatening. Prussia seems inclined to behave as atrociously as possible, and as she *always has done*! Odious people the Prussians are, *that* I *must* say.

I must conclude, saying again *how* I rejoice to hear that you are so much better. Ever your devoted, unhappy Niece, V. R.

[1] The Queen of the Belgians, daughter of King Louis Philippe, and King Leopold's second wife. She had died in 1850.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

94 PICCADILLY, 10*th August* 1865.—Viscount Palmerston presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to be allowed to return his thanks for your Majesty's gracious mention of his health; he deems it a duty which he owes to your Majesty, to do his best to maintain that health which is essential for the performance of the duties of the post which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon him. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

THE ROSENAU, COBURG, 21*st Aug.* 1865.—Saw Ernest Stockmar,[1] who talked of the dreadful state of Prussian affairs, and of the infamous conduct of the King and Bismarck, relative to Schleswig-Holstein; how he began to doubt the King's honesty; how painful Fritz's position was; of my seeing, or not seeing, the King, etc.

22*nd Aug.*—Ada and Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein came to luncheon. He spoke with little hope of the future. A provisional arrangement[2] has been entered into, but what it will lead to, God knows. Austria is to administer Holstein, and Prussia Schleswig.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

THE ROSENAU, 24*th Aug.* 1865.— . . . I told General Grey to tell you how favourable the impression is, left by Prince Christian. He is extremely pleasing, gentlemanlike, quiet, and distinguished. Lenchen (who knows nothing as yet) has of her own accord told me how amiable and pleasing and agreeable she thought him.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

THE ROSENAU, 27*th Aug.* 1865.—Dear Alexander Mensdorff[3] came and sat with me talking of the sad

[1] See above, p. 206 note.

[2] The Convention of Gastein. See Introductory Note.

[3] First cousin, through his mother, who was a Coburg, of the Queen and the Prince Consort; at this time Foreign Minister of Austria.

Schleswig-Holstein affair. He is now Prince and Foreign Minister and *all*-powerful; so good, wise, and honest. I spoke very strongly to him about the infamy of the conduct of the Prussians, and he promised me that Austria would not, indeed he said she could not, allow Prussia to annex the duchies. I also spoke strongly in favour of poor good Fritz Holstein.[1] Alexander once more promised that Austria would be firm.

The Countess Blücher to Queen Victoria.

BADEN, 27*th August* 1865.

MADAM,—Just returned from Church (though I fear my letter will not reach your Majesty the *sooner* for sending it to-day to the post), I write to say how strongly Queen Augusta is of opinion that your Majesty should *not* decline a visit from the King. The Queen spoke most *disinterestedly* and kindly and sensibly on the subject. Knowing the King's character so well, her Majesty thinks it of the greatest importance that your Majesty should keep up a good personal *Verhältniss* with the King, for the sake of the children.

The Queen says that what the King refused to the Crown Princess (notwithstanding her eloquent appeal to him) he instantly accorded when her Majesty wrote to him how *strong your Majesty's wish was* that they should be allowed to come to England in the autumn. The Queen says the King's *personal* feelings to your Majesty are what they *ever* were; that he is under the influence of a clever, unprincipled man, who has completely changed him, and for which there is no help, alas!; but that notwithstanding this, her Majesty would be sorry, *very* sorry, that anything should occur that might hurt the King and be possibly of disadvantage to the *family* "relations" later. . . .

[1] The Duke of Augustenburg.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

THE ROSENAU, 29*th Aug.* 1865.—Have been worried by the King of Prussia wishing to see me, which I am not at all anxious for, under present circumstances. I mean civilly to express my regret at not being able to see him this time.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

THE ROSENAU, 31*st August* 1865.

BELOVED UNCLE,—Accept my warmest thanks for your dear letters of the 26th and the 29th.

You have, I trust, heard everything about the *Enthüllung*,[1] which was the most beautiful, touching and solemn ceremony I *ever* saw. Nothing *ever* was better done, and nothing was *more* felt. Sad and distressing it was indeed that you, beloved Uncle, could *not* be present. It would, however, have been *very* trying for you. The Statue itself is *beautiful* and so like.

I am terribly tired and worried by seeing so many people, and really am *quite* shaken as to my nerves. They get worse and worse. Nothing but complete quiet and being out a great deal in the air does me good. I have been taking some quiet rides in the beautiful country. . . . And now I fear I must end—with every expression of love and affection, and truly delighted to hear you are deriving benefit from the seaside and rejoicing to see you there.

Ever your devoted, unhappy Niece, V. R.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

THE ROSENAU, 3*rd Sept.* 1865.—Much plagued with constant telegrams about a visit from the King of Prussia, which constantly cross each other in a most provoking way. The King has proposed Kranichstein,[2]

[1] The principal object of the Queen's visit to Coburg was to be present at the unveiling, on 26th August, of a statue of the Prince Consort there. "Never since Vicky's marriage," wrote the Queen in her Journal on that day, "had our nine children been assembled together; and now they were all together, and the *Head* of *all* was missing!"

[2] The Grand-Ducal Palace at Darmstadt.

H M Queen Victoria and H R H the Prince Consort
From a statue by William Theed R A at Windsor

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

whilst I have proposed St. Goar. Finally telegraphed to Vicky to consult with Alice and Louis, what I should do. Heard from them that I should telegraph to the Grand Duke of Hesse asking if I might receive the King at Kranichstein.

4th Sept.—Telegram from the Grand Duke giving me permission in the kindest way to receive the King at Kranichstein.

KRANICHSTEIN, *6th Sept.*—Much fussed about the visit of the King of Prussia, which we were obliged to settle to have in Darmstadt, owing to the shortness of time. Drove in to the Palace, with Lenchen and Louise, in the broiling heat. The Grand Duke received me and remained waiting with us for nearly half an hour, waiting for the King, who at length arrived with Fritz, accompanied by Louis and Alice. I met him on the staircase. He was very kind and friendly, but we talked of nothing but *pluie et beau temps*, and he left again in less than half an hour.

Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria.

BROCKET HALL, *4th Sept.* 1865.— . . . The meetings of the French and English squadrons at Cherbourg, Brest, and Portsmouth have gone off with success even beyond expectation, and the Duke of Somerset says that the French were surprised at the real cordiality of their reception. The political advantage of these meetings will be felt on both sides of the Atlantic. On this side of that ocean the good feeling manifested in both countries, both by the Naval service and by the Civil population, will serve to promote essentially the security for peace, and it will dispel in France the mistaken belief that the English nation entertain a settled hatred of France and Frenchmen. It is worth remark that the French Navy have always been better disposed towards England than the French Army, and this is not unnatural. The French Army feel that the British Army has stripped from the French brow laurels gathered in every field of Euro-

pean warfare, and that, having beaten in every battle those French troops who had beaten everybody else, the English Army ended by defeating the Emperor Napoleon himself, and sending him prisoner to St. Helena. In this case the pain of defeat was aggravated by the mortification of losing a pre-eminence acquired by a long series of victories and conquests. But France never pretended to be a predominant Naval power, and she looked upon her naval reverses as events happening in the natural order of things, and there was no feeling of wounded pride or mortified vanity to sharpen the pain of national disaster. Added to which, it may be said that there is less of vanity and more of simplicity of character belonging to the naval than to the military profession.

On the other side of the Atlantic the effect of these meetings cannot fail to be wholesome. There is nothing which the North Americans dislike more, as an obstacle to their schemes, than a cordial union between England and France; and as the tendency of the human mind is always to exaggerate the bearing and importance of events not clearly understood, the Americans will look upon these meetings as a sort of preliminary defensive alliance between the two countries, and they will accordingly be less likely to wish to pick a quarrel with either.

[*Copy.*] *General Grey to Earl Russell.*

THE ROSENAU, *9th September* 1865.

MY DEAR LORD RUSSELL,—The Queen so entirely agrees in the opinion expressed by M. D. de Lhuys, as reported in Lord Cowley's despatch 981 of the 29th August, that she has desired me to make an extract of it to send you, and to say that she really thinks, if we do not take some means, without unnecessarily mixing ourselves up in the question, of letting the German Powers, and especially Prussia, know what we think of their conduct,[1] that we shall lower ourselves in the opinion of the world.

[1] In regard to the Convention of Gastein.

The following is the part of the despatch to which she wishes to call your attention :

" It was the first time, he (M. D. de Lhuys) said, that an arrangement of that nature had been made without some attempt at justification on the part of those who had made it. In the present instance, *every principle of justice, right, and equity had been set aside* to meet the exigencies of violence and convenience. There was really no other excuse for the conduct of the two great German Powers, than that, having possessed themselves of the duchies by force, they now thought fit to treat them as suited the political requirements of the moment, *without reference to past declarations and engagements*, to the wishes of the duchies themselves, or to the voice of Germany."

Above all, her Majesty thinks that when our Ambassador receives the communication, which M. de Bismarck makes with such effrontery, of his views as to the annexation of the duchies, without a word of reprobation, he makes himself in some sort a Party to his iniquity.

I need not tell you that there is only one voice here as to the conduct of Prussia. Even Dr. Meyer, formerly Librarian to the Prince, and now attached to the Queen of Prussia's Household, condemns it loudly.

But he defends the King personally, as really believing that he is violating no engagement. His Majesty's view is that after the rupture of the Armistice and capture of Alsen, the Danes having refused all the terms proposed, all past engagements were swept away, and he had a perfect right to deal with the duchies as with a conquered country.—C. Grey.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

Balmoral, 15*th October* 1865.

My beloved Uncle,— . . . You will be grieved to hear that poor Lord Palmerston is *very* ill. I had heard he was very much better, when this morning a telegram arrived saying he was much worse and in extreme

danger. This sounds very bad, but we have heard nothing more all day. I should at once call on Lord Russell to carry on the same Government, and do not think that I should be obliged to alter my departure, and under any circumstances not, I should think, have to leave this except three or four days sooner than I intended. I had intended leaving on the 31st, and *I hope* to be able to stay as long, as *I dread* the return to Windsor so much. It is so desolate, so dreary, so devoid of that simple, wild freedom which suits my broken heart and crushed spirits. But God's Will, not mine, be done; and I must do *what* is necessary. . . .

To-day is *our dear Verlobungstag*, 26 years ago! And *now all* that bright, happy time is past, and I am alone, a poor, unhappy widow! Hard, *very hard*, but I will *not* murmur! My lot is a hard one, but God gave me the greatest happiness which ever mortal could have, and He has seen fit to give me the greatest sorrow! *All* shall, however, be *meekly*, patiently borne. The *Cross* is our badge and we must *wear it bravely*! Still in the midst of sorrows, so deep and so *great*, I *feel* truly grateful for blessings, comforts, and help given to me in kind and devoted friends.

God bless you, beloved Uncle. Ever your devoted, unhappy Niece, V. R.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

BALMORAL, 19*th Oct.* 1865.—The melancholy news of Lord Palmerston's death[1] reached the Queen last night. This is another link with the past which is broken, and the Queen feels deeply, in her desolate and isolated condition, how one by one those tried servants and advisers are removed from her, whom experience and knowledge of past events rendered so valuable.

Were her dear, great husband by her side all these trials would be easy to bear; but now she stands alone, and it is very hard to bear.

[1] At Brocket on 18th October.

The Queen can turn to no other but to Lord Russell, an old and tried friend of hers, to undertake the arduous duties of Prime Minister, and to carry on the Government. She has otherwise nothing further to add to her letter of yesterday.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

BALMORAL, 20*th October* 1865.

BELOVED UNCLE,—Your dear letters of the 16th and 17th crossed mine. You know now already long, of the death of poor Lord Palmerston, alias Pilgerstein! It is very *striking*, and is another link with the past—the happy past—which is gone, and in many ways he is a great loss. He had many valuable qualities, though many bad ones, and we had, God knows! terrible trouble with him about Foreign affairs. Still, as Prime Minister he managed affairs at home well, and behaved to me well. But I *never* liked him, or could ever the least respect him, nor could I forget his conduct on certain occasions to my Angel. He was very vindictive, and *personal* feelings influenced his political acts very much. Still, he is a loss! I shall have troubles and worries, and to face them *alone* without my Angel is dreadful! I feel no energy, no interest—*nothing* left—no one to talk to. I sometimes wish I could throw everything up and retire into private life; it is all so *hateful* to me without the interest my Angel gave to it; but that would be wrong. . . .

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, 20*th Oct.* 1865.— . . . Lord Palmerston is a great change; I had known him for many years, and with the exception of some of the cases of the poor King Louis Philippe we had never any difficulty, the less so as he was one of that small party faithful to Canning, whom I had always found very friendly. You have to begin with Lord Russell and Clarendon and Granville, but the House of Commons is the most important point, and Gladstone

is naturally the Leader. Mr. Cardwell I like much, but he is not yet influential enough. I trust all these things will not become plagues to you, and the present moment is rather favourable. . . .

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

BALMORAL, 25*th Oct.* 1865.— . . . I feel for poor Lord Russell; to begin at his age afresh, after *thirteen years*, as Prime Minister, is very trying. I can't say I rejoice to have Clarendon[1]; I don't *quite* trust him; still he is conciliatory to other Powers, and *is* attached to me. I *feel* ALL these changes sadly, painfully! I feel more and more alone! But I will strive to *do* my *duty* courageously and conscientiously. . . .

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, 28*th October* 1865.

MY BELOVED VICTORIA,—Your dear kind letter of the 25th reached me to-day, and I beg you to receive my warmest thanks for it. I had flattered myself that to-day's letter would be better, but I am rather unwell, and writing will be difficult.

You will have to mark your favour for your old Minister, and in fact he was kind to you, more so than many others would perhaps have been. Clarendon's manner is good, *et cela fait beaucoup*; besides, as far as one can judge, there will be nothing very severe, there is only with France, Russia being in that lazy way. The great thing will be not to go too fast in reform concern; it is not necessary for the present.

Vicky and Fritz arrived on the 23rd, but I was not well enough to go to town. On the 24th they came to luncheon, and, though shaky enough, I had much interesting talk with Vicky, who is pleased with the arrangement concerning Lenchen. I found her very right-minded in everything. Fritz has also seen more of the world; the boy I am very fond of. I

[1] As Foreign Secretary.

think the journey was wrong in that dreadful weather. You will have felt it in Scotland rather severe. . . .

Lord Russell again Prime Minister is strange, but these politicians never refuse. And now God bless you. I mean, as long as Providence will keep me fit for it, to render you every service in my power. Ever your devoted old Uncle, LEOPOLD R.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 29*th Oct.* 1865.—Lord Russell came at 10 o'clock and kissed hands as Prime Minister. He seemed much impressed with the weight of the task he had undertaken, saying that it was different to do so at 73, to 54; but that, if he had been in the House of Commons, he could not have undertaken it at all.

After talking over the circumstances of Lord Palmerston's illness and death and the great loss he was—an irreparable one in many respects, he said that the Cabinet had met yesterday. Nothing could have been more friendly and kind than everyone had been, Lord Granville being quite ready to do anything he could to be of use. Lord Russell had told him that he must count upon him in the House of Lords, as he was not at all accustomed to the business in that House. Mr. Gladstone had written to Lord R. whilst Lord Palmerston was still alive, offering to remain under him in his present position, with Sir G. Grey as Leader. This, however, would have been too much for Sir George, and would not have answered, though Sir George would have been more popular. Lord Russell had told the Cabinet that this first meeting was in order to speak to them generally and ask for their support, rather than to discuss measures.

He then proposed, should I have no objection, that Sir R. Peel, who did not agree well with Lord Wodehouse, and was against some liberal measures which Lord W. and Sir G. Grey wanted to propose, should be made a peer and removed from the Secre-

taryship in Ireland. This, I readily sanctioned, and then observed, What was to be done with the Duchy of Lancaster, as it was important to strengthen the Government in the House of Commons, where they had lost so many. Lord R. replied that he had a good deal to say on that matter. Mr. Gladstone was anxious, if possible, to get Lord Stanley into the Cabinet (if his father had no objection, he having objected on a previous occasion, when Lord Palmerston had offered him a place), Lord S. having said to someone in the Cabinet that, if the Government proposed a moderate measure of Reform, his party, instead of opposing it, would give it their fullest support and help to carry it through, in spite of the extreme party and the House of Lords. I replied, No doubt this would be a very good thing, for that dearest Albert had always wished that a moderate measure of Reform should be proposed and carried when there was no excitement or clamour for it in the country; but that it must be very carefully framed, so that it should not again fail, as it had done on two previous occasions. Lord R. said that naturally this must be very carefully considered, and mentioned a few of the details.

Lord R. said that nothing less than the office of Secretary of State could be offered Lord Stanley, in which I agreed, but said that neither the War Office nor India would do. Lord R. admitted that Lord S. had very peculiar views respecting the Army, which I could not approve. He then proposed the Colonies, in which I acquiesced, as well as in the proposal that Mr. Cardwell should go to the War Office, Lord De Grey taking the Duchy of Lancaster, to which he thought I would not object, Lord Clarendon and Sir G. Grey having also held it. Lord R. said that the Duke of Somerset and Lord De Grey had both, in the handsomest manner, placed their offices in his hands.

There were several minor changes, Lord R. continued, entailed by these greater ones, of which he

would just mention a few. Lord Hartington, who would not be wanted under Mr. Cardwell, might go to the Admiralty in the place of Lord Clarence Paget, who was likely to get a command. Lord Enfield, who is at the Poor Law Board and a clever young man, to succeed Lord Hartington, as people would like to have an aristocratic name under a commoner; and Mr. Chichester Fortescue to go to Ireland as Secretary. These, however, were all uncertain as yet, and Lord R. promised to submit them in writing to me before communicating with the persons themselves.[1] The Council for giving the seals to Lord Clarendon was to be on Friday.

It would be difficult for me to say how on this occasion, the first of this kind which has occurred since my dreadful misfortune, I missed the support, assistance and presence of my beloved husband, or how anxiously I strove to act as I feel he would have advised and wished; and I hope his blessing may rest on my endeavours to do my duty.[2]

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *30th Oct.* 1865.—Since the Queen saw Lord Russell she has had a very anxious letter from the Duke of Cambridge on the subject of the War Office, expressing an *earnest* hope that *no* change would take place in the *War* Office.

The Queen of course will say nothing further to the Duke beyond assuring him that the well-being of the Army, and its proper administration, will be one of her *first* objects. But she must say that on due consideration she feels that it would be *very* serious *if both* the Secretary and Under-Secretary of War were changed, and she wishes Lord Russell would well consider whether some other arrangement could be made by which Lord De Grey OR Lord Hartington

[1] Lord Stanley declined, so the other arrangements fell to the ground.

[2] This memorandum was dictated by the Queen to Princess Helena. In her Journal for the day her Majesty wrote: "It was dreadful to have such an important interview for the first time alone, having to weigh each word and to have no witness."

could be retained for that Office. So much depends on the judicious administration of that Office, and on the good understanding which exists between the Horse Guards and the War Office.

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians. [*Extract.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, *4th Nov.* 1865.— . . . The Ministerial affairs are going on satisfactorily; Lord Russell is very kind and reasonable, and anxious to do all I wish. It is also very gratifying to see *how* well all the different Members of the Cabinet have behaved —*really* behaving as they ought—by *forgetting themselves*, and being ready to continue in the Government, in whatever position is thought best and *most useful.* This *is* very gratifying. . . .

Lord Palmerston's Ministry as it stood at his death.		Lord Russell's Ministry.
VISCOUNT PALMERSTON	*First Lord of the Treasury*	EARL RUSSELL.
LORD CRANWORTH	*Lord Chancellor*	LORD CRANWORTH.
EARL GRANVILLE	*Lord President*	EARL GRANVILLE.
DUKE OF ARGYLL	*Lord Privy Seal*	DUKE OF ARGYLL.
SIR GEORGE GREY	*Home Secretary*	SIR GEORGE GREY.
EARL RUSSELL	*Foreign Secretary*	EARL OF CLARENDON
EDWARD CARDWELL	*Colonial Secretary*	EDWARD CARDWELL.
EARL DE GREY AND RIPON	*War Secretary*	EARL DE GREY AND RIPON (in 1866 MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON).
SIR CHARLES WOOD	*Indian Secretary*	SIR CHARLES WOOD (in 1866 EARL DE GREY AND RIPON).
W. E. GLADSTONE	*Chancellor of the Exchequer*	W. E. GLADSTONE (*Leader of the House of Commons*).
DUKE OF SOMERSET	*First Lord of the Admiralty*	DUKE OF SOMERSET.
T. MILNER GIBSON	*President of the Board of Trade*	T. MILNER GIBSON (in 1866 W. MONSELL).
C. P. VILLIERS	*President of the Poor Law Board*	C. P. VILLIERS.
LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY	*Postmaster-General*	LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.
EARL OF CLARENDON	*Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*	G. J. GOSCHEN (in Jan. 1866).

Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *30th November* 1865.

DEAREST BELOVED UNCLE,—Accept my warmest thanks for your dear affectionate letter of the 28th. I am grieved to see that you complain again more. You must not let yourself be discouraged by these distressing ups and downs.

As the secret about Lenchen's marriage had come out in the papers (*most* kindly received), we thought it best to ask him to come over at once, so as to have the *Verlobung* over, and announce it in Council. Prince Christian will therefore arrive here to-morrow, but only stays a week. He will then return here in the middle of January, for a long time. Perhaps, on his return from here, you will allow him to pay you his respects for a moment, if you feel well enough. Vicky and Fritz also leave us on Saturday. Nothing could equal their kindness and affection, and the help and assistance they have been to me in this affair of Lenchen's marriage. . . .

Mr. Cardwell to Sir Charles Phipps.

COLONIAL OFFICE, *2nd December* 1865.

Private and Confidential.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES PHIPPS,—I enclose to you the private letters which I have received by this mail from Eyre.[1]

I only closed my bag at 3 a.m. and could not spare them sooner.

The despatches are gone to press for the Cabinet; and I will send you a copy as soon as I receive them.

They contain abundance of assertion of organised conspiracy to massacre all the white and coloured inhabitants, but nothing in the nature of proof; and

[1] Governor of Jamaica. A negro insurrection, which had broken out in the island in October, had been suppressed by Mr. Eyre with great promptitude, but undoubted severity. A vehement agitation against the Governor sprang up in England, to be met by a strong counter-movement in his favour. After official enquiry, he was retired on a pension; and attempts made by individuals to indict him failed.

I fear that it will be not easy to justify what has been done; but this I can only say from the absence as yet of proof, for in truth but little of the case has come home, and it is evident that the conviction in the minds of the people there is strong and general. Yours sincerely, EDWARD CARDWELL.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, *4th Dec.* 1865.—The news of beloved Uncle, which had improved, are again very anxious. There are fresh alarming symptoms and great increasing weakness. I saw Mme. Van de Weyer, who is very anxious and read me a letter from her husband giving a very bad account of dearest Uncle, but saying that, if he could be persuaded to take sufficient nourishment, he might yet recover from this attack, and that if possible Dr. Jenner should be sent off to Brussels.

7th Dec.—Saw Dr. Jenner, who had just returned from Brussels. The Belgian doctor who had been called in (Uncle's own Dr. Köppel having unfortunately left) was unfit. If Uncle took the necessary nourishment prescribed, he might pull through. He was to take brandy every hour and broth every two hours. All this reminds me too painfully of beloved Albert's terrible illness!

Mr. Cardwell to Queen Victoria.

COLONIAL OFFICE, *7th Dec.* 1865.—Mr. Cardwell presents his humble duty, and represents to your Majesty that at the Cabinet yesterday it was determined humbly to advise your Majesty to appoint a Commission of Enquiry to proceed to Jamaica to investigate the circumstances of the recent troubles in that island, and the measures for their repression.

It will be necessary that Governor Eyre should be present in the island during at least a part of this investigation; and yet it will not be possible that he should be present as Governor, while the acts of

his Government are the subject of enquiry. Under these circumstances it was determined humbly to recommend to your Majesty that Sir H. Storks, the present Governor and Commander of your Majesty's Forces in Malta, should receive a temporary commission to combine in his own person the supreme civil and military command in Jamaica, and to be the head of the Commission of Enquiry. Mr. Cardwell therefore humbly submits to your Majesty the name of Sir H. Storks to receive a temporary commission as Governor of Jamaica.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

Windsor, *9th Dec.* 1865.—Lenchen came in with a telegram while I was dressing. It had come in the night, and the words were, "le Roi mourant." Dear Feodore breakfasted and sat with me and I clasped her in my arms, saying we must keep together, for soon we should be standing alone. Much shaken by the news and the suspense.

10th Dec.—A sad, sad blow, which has long been impending, has at last fallen on us, and I can hardly believe what I write, and am stupefied and stunned. Dearly beloved Uncle Leopold is no more; that dear loving Uncle, who has ever been to me as a Father, has gone to that everlasting Home, where all is peace and rest. Since the 4th his condition has been most alarming, and since the 8th hopeless. It is dreadful; and again at this time of year, so close to that painful anniversary of the 14th.

At luncheon we got the distressing news that all had ended at 11.40. To think that that intercourse, that help, has also ceased and been taken from me, is truly terrible. Dear Feodore mourns with me, for she, too, dearly loved her uncle. Went with Louise to the dear peaceful mausoleum, and the two dear ones who loved each other in this life seemed strangely mingled together. How much overcome dear Uncle was when I took him there two years and a half ago!

11*th Dec.*—A letter from Leopold B[rabant],[1] saying dearest Uncle had passed away quite peacefully in their arms. Gen. Seymour mentions the same. He arrived just to find all over. Both speak of the funeral being on the 16th. Felt anxious about this, knowing that beloved Uncle had repeatedly expressed his wish to be buried near Princess Charlotte,[2] in St. George's Chapel, and that a letter to that effect, written to the Dean, was in existence. Dearest Albert had always spoken of it as a certainty. Sir C. Phipps has written at once, by my desire, to M. Van de Weyer and Gen. Seymour.

13*th Dec.*—Saw M. Van de Weyer, who read me a letter from Leopold B., saying that dear Uncle's wishes regarding his burial were known to them, but that there was no mention of them in his will, and that, even had there been, they could not have been complied with. For the sake of his memory, the Belgian people would never have consented. I could say no more, but feel it very much.

Sir Charles Phipps to Earl Russell.

Confidential. OSBORNE, 20*th December* 1865.

MY DEAR LORD RUSSELL,—Your announcement that the day fixed for the delivery of the Speech from the Throne is the 8th February has disturbed the Queen very much. Since the Prince Consort's death she has always carefully arranged to pass the 10th February, her wedding-day, *away* from Windsor.

Her Majesty had supposed that the day for the ceremony was to be the 1st February, and she could have then returned to Osborne, after this exertion, and remained quiet until the 15th, on which day, at the latest, she must be at Windsor. If she has to go up to be in London upon the 8th, to return to Osborne upon the 9th, and again to Windsor by the 15th, she fears that she will be completely knocked

[1] Who immediately ascended the throne, as Leopold II.
[2] King Leopold's first wife, daughter of George IV.

up by the constant hurry of going backwards and forwards.

It is difficult perhaps to estimate the sacrifice that the Queen has made in consenting to open Parliament in person; it was always a ceremony which, even in her happiest days, she dreaded more than anything else, and now it will be a very severe trial to her, and she will probably suffer from it two or three days before and after. The Queen has therefore desired me to write to you and state the exact facts of the case, and to ask if no way can be devised of avoiding this additional political difficulty.—C. B. P.

Sir Charles Phipps to Mr. Cardwell.

[*Copy.*]

Private. OSBORNE, *24th December* 1865.

MY DEAR MR. CARDWELL,—I have read through all the Jamaica papers—and have endeavoured to give the Queen a précis of them.

Her Majesty read all your despatches and was very much struck with their dignified, guarded, and yet exceedingly fair tone. The Queen's remark was that they were "*excellent.*" Whatever may be the result of the enquiry, there can be no question that the tone of some of the letters is, to say the least of it, exceedingly to be regretted. It is curious that on not one of these papers is there the slightest appearance of an expectation that anything that had been done could be questioned in England. On the contrary, the only anxiety appeared to be to claim the largest share in acts which are here supposed to entail so heavy a responsibility.

You do not, I suppose, want the papers to be returned. Sincerely yours, C. B. PHIPPS.

...H OF LE...
Hither Gre...
BRARIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER V

In 1866 the Queen, in response to the representations of her Ministers and the manifest desire of her people, emerged on several occasions from the seclusion in which she had lived since the death of the Prince Consort, and resumed, in spite of weak health and incessant governmental labour, an appreciable share of her public and ceremonial duties. Her Majesty opened Parliament, with modified splendours, on 6th February; she held courts at Buckingham Palace; she twice visited Aldershot, once to review the troops, and once to present new colours to a regiment; she attended the wedding of Princess Mary of Cambridge to the Duke of Teck at Kew Church on 12th June; she was not only present in some state at the marriage of Princess Helena to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein in St. George's, Windsor, on 5th July, but herself gave away the bride; she attended the Highland Gathering at Braemar in September and opened new waterworks at Aberdeen in October; and on 30th November she unveiled a statue of the Prince Consort at Wolverhampton, driving for several miles through the decorated streets of the town. Four days later, at a crowded Reform meeting in St. James's Hall, London, when Mr. Ayrton had made some remarks on her Majesty's infrequent appearance on public occasions, Mr. Bright said: "I am not accustomed to stand up in defence of those who are possessors of crowns; but I could not sit here and hear that observation without a sensation of wonder and of pain. I think there has been by many persons a great injustice done to the Queen in reference to her desolate and widowed position. And I venture to say this, that a woman—be she the Queen of a great realm, or be she the wife of one of your labouring men—who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and affection, is not at all likely to be wanting in a great and generous sympathy with you." The speech was received with loud and prolonged cheers, and the body of people in the hall rose and sang the National Anthem.

Parliamentary Reform was the main subject of political contention throughout the year. On behalf of Lord Russell's Government, Mr. Gladstone introduced a Bill which lowered the borough franchise to £7 and the county franchise to £14, but did not deal with the redistribution of seats at all. It

met with a lukewarm reception in a House elected to support Lord Palmerston. It was opposed not only by the Conservative party, but by a large section of the Liberals, of whom Mr. Lowe was the most conspicuous. Mr. Bright, who gave the Bill his hearty support, likened these Liberals to the discontented in the Cave of Adullam. On the second reading an amendment, moved by the Whig Lord Grosvenor, declining to proceed further until the Redistribution Bill was before Parliament, was only defeated by 5 votes—318 against 313. The Ministry bowed to the obvious sense of the House, and introduced a Redistribution Bill. Mr. Disraeli recommended them to withdraw both their present Bills, obtain carefully prepared statistics, and bring forward a considered measure next session. The Government, however, struggled on ; but after a series of narrow majorities, at least one serious defeat and several surrenders to avoid defeat, they were finally beaten on 18th June by 11 votes—315 against 304—on an amendment moved by Lord Dunkellin, a Whig, to make rating instead of rental the basis of the borough franchise.

Thereupon Ministers determined to resign ; but the Queen, who had on several occasions urged them to meet the general wishes of the House of Commons about Reform, and who desired to avoid a change of Government during the Austro-Prussian war, refused at first to accept their resignations. Her Majesty, who was at Balmoral for the early summer visit strongly recommended by her physicians, returned to Windsor after a week of abortive communications, and entrusted Lord Derby with the formation of a new Government. He failed to secure the co-operation, in office, of the Adullamites, and formed for the third time a purely Conservative Ministry without a Parliamentary majority, Mr. Disraeli once more becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. The new Ministry took office without giving any pledges on the subject of Reform ; but popular agitation, which had been active in the spring in support of the Russell-Gladstone Bill, was immediately renewed. On 23rd July the mob, being forbidden to hold a meeting in Hyde Park, broke down the railings and worked some havoc in the flower-beds, continuing their demonstrations for a couple more days. In the autumn monster Reform meetings were held and violent language was used in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and Dublin.

On the Continent of Europe the year opened with strained relations between Austria and Prussia. Count Bismarck was resolved to secure for Prussia both Schleswig and Holstein (though the latter had been assigned to Austria by the Convention of Gastein), and the fine naval position on two seas which these duchies commanded ; and to unite Germany under the leadership of Prussia instead of that of Austria. These objects, he realised, could not be attained without war —a risk which King William was prepared to run, though the Crown Prince protested against a fratricidal conflict. The most important of the minor German States stood by Austria and her primacy in Germany; and Austria herself rallied to the support of the Augustenburg claims in the duchies. Prussia strengthened her position by negotiating in secret, on 8th April, an offensive and defensive alliance with Italy, to whom Austria had recently refused to cede Venetia. About the same time Count Bismarck, who was still collecting taxes arbitrarily without the consent of the Prussian Parliament, endeavoured to conciliate Liberal feeling in Germany by making public his proposed Federal reform of a National Parliament based on universal suffrage. Mutual charges of mobilisation and warlike preparation were made and denied during April and May by Austria and by her Allied opponents ; and early in June the first openly hostile step was taken, when the Prussians, by a threat and display of force, drove the Austrian troops out of Holstein. Austria appealed to the Diet, which on 14th June supported her against Prussia by nine votes to six.

Prussia immediately issued her *ultimatum* against her opponents, who, besides Austria and the German southern States of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, comprised some of the most important northern States, such as Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel ; though in every German State there were larger or smaller groups of Prussian sympathisers. Hanover and Hesse-Cassel, owing to their own unpreparedness and to Prussian promptitude, were conquered, and Saxony was overrun before the end of June ; the southern States were reduced during July. Meanwhile, the principal foe, Austria, was heavily defeated at Königgrätz in Bohemia on 3rd July, and was fain to seek an armistice on 20th July. The strategy of General von Moltke, the organisation of General von Roon, and the efficiency of the needle-gun were the main factors in Prussian success. Italy served the general

purposes of the allies by detaining an Austrian army in the south; but the Italians were defeated on land at Custoza on 24th June, and at sea off Lissa on 20th July.

Count Bismarck accepted an offer of mediation made by the Emperor Napoleon, who, having a sincere belief in the Nationalist idea, regarded favourably the programme which the German statesman submitted to him: namely, an Austria turned out of Germany, but unmutilated save by the cession of Italian Venetia to Italy; a North German Confederation dominated by Prussia—a Prussia aggrandised by her conquests in North Germany (of which Hanover was the principal) and embracing both Schleswig and Holstein, subject to a plébiscite in the Danish portion of Schleswig; and a South German Union, consisting of all the German States (except Austria) south of the river Main. On this general basis peace was made, Count Bismarck persuading his reluctant Sovereign to end the war at once and be content with moderate gains, in view, on the one hand, of French hints of territorial compensation and, on the other, of the proposal made by the Emperor of Russia for a European Congress (which never met). When the French asked for the Rhine frontier as compensation, Bismarck felt himself strong enough to return a blunt refusal; and the Emperor Napoleon took no further action. No South German Union was ever arranged, as Bismarck concluded in secret a series of military conventions with Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden; nor was the plébiscite in Danish Schleswig ever carried out. A reconciliation between Bismarck and the Prussian Parliament was effected immediately after the war, and a Bill of Indemnity passed. Before the end of the year he had drafted, for submission to a Constituent Reichstag, the Constitution of the North German Confederation.

These events in Germany deeply harrowed the feelings of Queen Victoria. Her Majesty sympathised with the German movement for unity, but she distrusted Count Bismarck and condemned the policy of Prussia; and her German relations and connections fought, some on one side and some on the other.

At the end of the year the French troops were withdrawn from Mexico, under pressure from the United States; and, in accordance with a convention between France and Italy, the French garrison was withdrawn from Rome.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

CHAPTER V

1866

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 11*th Jan.* 1866.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; having consulted Sir George Grey he is of opinion that some mark of the favour of the Crown should be bestowed upon the widow of Lord Palmerston.

Your Majesty will recollect that the widow of Mr. Canning was created a Viscountess, and that a similar rank was offered to Lady Peel after Sir Robert's death.

Lord Russell would humbly recommend that Lady Palmerston should be created a Viscountess in her own right, and that, as Lord Palmerston's estates are left to Mr. William Cowper, his name should be inserted in the patent to succeed to the title of Viscount after Lady Palmerston's death. This proposal has the concurrence of Sir George Grey and Mr. Gladstone, and will give satisfaction to the late Lord Palmerston's friends, who seem to expect it.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, 12*th Jan.* 1866.—The Queen has received Lord Russell's letter of yesterday.

She approves of Mr. Goschen's[1] being appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Without

[1] Then member for the City of London; afterwards First Lord of the Admiralty, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Viscount Goschen.

refusing her approval to his having a seat in the Cabinet, she should wish to know what the opinion of the Cabinet is upon it, whether it would not have been better, if he had first been a year or so in the Government without a seat in the Cabinet. May it not create much jealousy ?

The Queen approves of Lady Palmerston being made a Viscountess in her own right with remainder to her son Mr. Wm. Cowper.[1]

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, 14*th Jan.* 1866.— . . . Lord Russell had brought the question of Mr. Goschen's having a seat in the Cabinet, before the Cabinet, and they acquiesced in Lord Russell's proposal. It was received by some rather unwillingly, but the fact is that a Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster is of great use in the Cabinet, and of no use at all out of the Cabinet.

There are some jealousies, but they will soon disappear if Mr. Goschen does well.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, 22*nd Jan.* 1866.—The Queen can assure Lord Russell that he need be under no apprehension of her not arriving in time for the opening of Parliament. If she has the whole Monday open she can go when she likes, and with the *Alberta* she has no longer cause to fear a bad passage.

To enable the Queen to go through what SHE *can* only compare to an execution, it is of importance to keep the *thought* of it as much from her mind as possible, and therefore the going to Windsor *to wait* two *whole* days for this dreadful ordeal would do her positive harm.

The Queen has never till *now* mentioned this painful subject to Lord Russell, but she wishes once

[1] Lady Palmerston "gratefully and respectfully" declined the honour, but her son Mr. William Cowper was created in 1880 Lord Cowper-Temple. The peerage became extinct at his death.

for all to just express her own feelings. She must, however, premise her observations by saying that she *entirely* absolves Lord Russell and his colleagues from *any* attempt ever to *press* upon her what is so very painful an effort. The Queen *must say* that she does feel *very bitterly* the want of feeling of those who *ask* the Queen to go to open Parliament. That the public should wish to see her she fully understands, and has *no* wish to prevent—quite the contrary; but why this wish should be of so *unreasonable* and unfeeling a nature, as to *long* to *witness* the spectacle of a poor, broken-hearted widow, nervous and shrinking, dragged in *deep mourning*, ALONE *in* STATE as a *Show*, where she used to go supported by her husband, to be gazed at, without delicacy of feeling, is a thing *she cannot* understand, and she never could wish her bitterest foe to be exposed to!

She *will* do it *this time—as* she promised it, but she owns she resents the unfeelingness of those who have *clamoured* for it. Of the suffering which it will cause her—nervous as she now is—she can give no idea, but she owns she hardly knows *how* she will go through it. Were the Queen a woman possessed of strong nerves, she would not mind going through this painful exhibition, but her nerves—from the amount of anxiety, and constant and unceasing work, which is quite overwhelming her, as well as from her deep sorrow—are terribly and *increasingly* shaken, and she will suffer much for some time after, from the shock to her nervous system which this *ordeal* will occasion. It is hard, when she works and slaves away all day and till late at night, not to be spared at least such trials.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 27*th Jan.* 1866.—Dear little William's[1] birthday. May God preserve him, and may he grow up good, clever, and liberal-minded in his views,

[1] Afterwards the German Emperor William II.

worthy of his beloved Grandpapa, who was so anxious about him, and that he should not grow up into a "conceited Prussian."

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

London, 1*st Feb.* 1866.—May it please your Majesty;

The House of Commons this day re-elected Mr. Denison to the Speakership with great expressions of satisfaction. I have briefly telegraphed this result to your Majesty at Osborne.

Mr. Disraeli stated his regret that a Member of the Opposition had not been invited to second the nomination. This point had been fully considered: and we determined to make no such overture, for what appeared to us a plain and strong reason; namely that we should by making it have been virtually asking Members in Opposition to waive their title to object to the re-election.

Queen Victoria to Sir Charles Wood.

[*Copy.*]

Osborne, 3*rd Feb.* 1866.—The Queen has received with the deepest concern Sir Charles Wood's letter tendering his resignation of the important office which he administered so ably. The Queen feels that she must accept it, but it is with the hope, the confident hope, that she may still retain him as one of her Councillors.

Alone, crushed, isolated, deprived of the help and advice of her beloved husband, the Queen clings strongly to all her old and true friends and advisers, and amongst them she has ever had reason to reckon Sir Charles Wood. Her dear husband had a strong sense of what the Queen owed to Sir Charles in carrying through the amalgamation of the Indian Army; and the Prince and herself could never forget the assistance he rendered us on various trying occasions by his advice.

The Queen feels that Sir Charles Wood's retire-

ment will be severely felt, for no one could more ably conduct the very important office of Secretary of State for India than he has done for six years and a half.

She, however, cannot conclude without expressing again a hope that he will not find a seat in the Cabinet without any office too much for his health. It would be a *great* satisfaction to her.[1]

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *6th Feb.* 1866.—A fine morning. Terribly nervous and agitated. At ½ past 10 left Windsor for London, with the children, ladies, and gentlemen. Great crowds out, and so I had (for the first time since my great misfortune) an escort. Dressing after luncheon, which I could hardly touch. Wore my ordinary evening dress, only trimmed with miniver, and my cap with a long flowing tulle veil, a small diamond and sapphire coronet rather at the back, and diamonds outlining the front of my cap.

It was a fearful moment for me when I entered the carriage *alone*, and the band played; also when all the crowds cheered, and I had great difficulty in repressing my tears. But our two dear affectionate girls[2] were a true help and support to me, and they so thoroughly realised all I was going through. The crowds were most enthusiastic, and the people seemed to look at me with sympathy. We had both windows open, in spite of a very high wind.

When I entered the House, which was very full, I felt as if I should faint. All was silent and all eyes fixed upon me, and there I sat alone. I was greatly relieved when all was over, and I stepped down from the throne. . . .

So thankful that the great ordeal of to-day was well over, and that I was enabled to get through it.

[1] Sir Charles Wood was raised to the peerage as Viscount Halifax. He did not remain in the Cabinet.

[2] Princesses Helena and Louise, who faced her Majesty in the carriage.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, *7th Feb.* 1866.—The Queen acknowledges Lord Russell's letter of yesterday.

She wishes to know when she is to receive the Seals from Sir C. Wood, and deliver them to his successor and to Lord Hartington? The Queen hopes it may be delayed for some days, as she is feeling terribly shaken, exhausted, and unwell from the violent *nervous shock* of the effort she made on Tuesday; and Dr. Jenner says she *must* have *complete* rest and quiet while she remains here, before returning to Windsor, which she intends doing by the 20th or 21st. . . .

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, *12th Feb.* 1866.— . . . Lord Russell is sorry to hear that your Majesty has suffered from the fatigue, and shock of nerves, incident to your Majesty's presence to open Parliament in person.

There can be no doubt, however, that if your Majesty can, as on that occasion, incur the misery and risk to health attendant upon a public ceremonial, the gratification of seeing your Majesty once more among them increases and warms the loyal feelings of your Majesty's subjects.

Sir Charles Phipps to Sir George Grey.

[*Copy.*]

Private.

OSBORNE, *12th February* 1866.

MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,—There has been sent to the Queen the report of the proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Fund, and also the statement of that gentleman having added another £100,000 to his former splendid donation, thus making up a sum of a quarter of a million, which he has presented for the benevolent object of improving the condition of the poor of London—a magnificent liberality, I believe wholly unexampled.

The Queen is disposed to think that it would be becoming that she should in some way mark her appreciation of this benevolence shown by a foreigner to the poor of the Metropolis of this country, but the fact of Mr. Peabody being a citizen of the United States makes the mode of doing this rather difficult, as it is not possible to offer him any of the marks of distinction usually bestowed upon subjects.

Her Majesty has authorised me to consult you upon this subject. What would you think of the Queen writing him a letter expressing her admiration of his magnificent charity; or, if you agree that it is desirable that something should be done, can you suggest any preferable measure? Sincerely yours, C. B. PHIPPS.[1]

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, 18*th Feb.* 1866.—The Queen has received Lord Russell's letter. She had always contemplated returning on the 21st to Windsor, till the floods, which seemed still increasing, rendering a residence at Windsor, in the opinion of Dr. Jenner, unwholesome, and making it impossible for the Queen to get the air and exercise which are so necessary to her, induced her to think of putting off her departure from Osborne for a few days. She never, however, contemplated, under any circumstances, remaining here beyond the end of this week, or the Monday following. The Queen will now return on Wednesday in accordance with the wishes of her Ministers; but in return she hopes Lord Russell will in future trust to her doing what she believes to be *necessary* for the good of the Country, without her movements being dictated to her.

If the Queen seems to shrink at this moment from returning to Windsor, it is that, knowing the importance of her life, and that it is her *duty* in consequence to try and preserve her broken health and *very*

[1] Lord Russell suggested that the Queen should give Mr. Peabody her portrait in miniature, with an autograph letter. See below, p. 309.

shattered nerves (every day more and more shattered) from becoming seriously worse, she fears she could not now at Windsor find the pure air or be able to take the exercise so essential for this object.

The Government may rely on her always doing what she *can* without being pressed. It is only for the sake of the Country, of her people and her children that she has any desire to live; but to *enable* her to live, she *must* do what she believes to be indispensable for her health.

The Queen desired Dr. Jenner to explain to Lord Russell the shattered state of her nerves, and the necessity of entire change of air (to Scotland) at least twice a year. She intends now to remain at Windsor till the middle of April, and then to return here (previous to going to Scotland) unless the continuance of the floods, making Windsor unwholesome, should oblige her to return here sooner.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

Osborne [*undated;* ? 19*th Feb.* 1866].—The Queen will knight Mr. Grant when she is at Windsor. She cannot say she thinks his selection [1] a good one for Art. He boasts of *never* having been in Italy or studied the old Masters. He has decidedly much talent, but it is the talent of an amateur.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

Windsor Castle, 26*th Feb.* 1866.—Though the Queen does not wish any appointment of a successor to her valued and deeply lamented friend Sir C. Phipps [2] to take place till the end of this week or beginning of the next, she is anxious without further delay to mention to Lord Russell what he will already have heard from Mr. Gladstone. This is that General Grey's position should be a *recognised one*—as her

[1] Sir Francis Grant had just been elected President of the Royal Academy.

[2] Sir Charles Phipps died on 24th February 1866.

Private Secretary. Every public man has one (the Prime Minister has two), and it is perfectly absurd to *pretend* that the Queen has *none*, when she has for the last four years been constantly obliged to use General Grey and poor Sir C. Phipps as her Secretaries. General Grey being now nearly twenty-nine years in her service, having been the Prince's Private Secretary for twelve years and acted as hers for more than four years—it is absolutely necessary that his position should *now* be recognised, as every year the Queen will require more help and assistance instead of less, and a new person can hardly be expected to understand the delicate and responsible task of communicating the Queen's wishes to her Ministers when she is unable to do so herself. The Queen therefore trusts Lord Russell will not object to what the Queen feels to be an absolute necessity.

Queen Victoria to Lord Charles FitzRoy.[1]

Confidential.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *2nd March* 1866.—The Queen has experienced so many proofs of Lord Charles FitzRoy's devotion to her service and of [his] consideration for her feelings and comfort, that she thinks it due to him to enter confidentially into the reasons which have influenced her choice, with reference to the various changes which the most sad and serious loss of our valued, dear, and faithful friend, Sir Charles Phipps, has rendered necessary in her household.

These changes the Queen intends should consist in the separation of the various duties performed in conjunction by Sir Charles Phipps and General Grey into two distinct offices: her Private Secretary to transact the official business and her Privy Purse for financial duties and those of a more domestic nature. The length of time that both General Grey

[1] Equerry to Queen Victoria, 1849–1882; succeeded his brother as 7th Duke of Grafton, 1882.

and Sir Thomas Biddulph have been in the Queen's service, and the ability which they have both displayed in their important offices, entitle them of course to the offer of these posts to hold them as long as their health and strength will allow. But the Queen does not hesitate to say that she thinks that Lord Charles FitzRoy is well qualified to fill either post, and that she looks to him with that object at some future time.

There remains the Office of Master of the Household, vacant by the appointment of Sir Thomas Biddulph to be Privy Purse. For this also it immediately occurred to the Queen, that she could find no person as fit as Lord Charles FitzRoy. But she also recollected that even if, consistently with the care of his children, he could possibly have accepted it, requiring, as it does, residence wherever she is (with rare exceptions) and in her house (for Sir Thomas Biddulph's case was exceptional and only acquiesced in, after some years, and to avoid the loss of his services), that office had never been devolved on any person of the rank of Lord Charles FitzRoy. The Queen has therefore selected, as the next best she could think of, Sir John Cowell, being unmarried, and, though young (for the Queen must gradually call up younger persons about her), very steady and intelligent, and one to whom she is deeply indebted for all the difficulties that he has encountered throughout his career with Prince Alfred, now just finished, and for whom the beloved Prince Consort entertained the sincerest regard and affection.

The Queen, considering Lord Charles FitzRoy as one of those among her gentlemen with whom her Master of the Household is brought much in contact, will feel greatly obliged to him to lend him in every way he can his assistance and advice in any difficulties he may meet with in Society, and she is sure that Sir John will always receive such counsel from him with gratitude and attention.

The object of the Queen in this letter has been to

impress upon Lord Charles FitzRoy the great wish she had to have included him, if possible, in some of the present arrangements, and the hope with which she looks forward to him (should she live) on some future occasion which in the course of time may arise.

P.S.—Since writing the above the Queen finds that it is not certain whether the titles of the above offices can be given according to precedents. But if not, the same duties will be respectively performed by the General and Sir Thomas Biddulph, as Joint Keepers of the Privy Purse.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 4*th March* 1866.—The Queen accepts the arrangement[1] as proposed by Lord Russell, but she must say she would have been better satisfied, and thinks the Public also would be better satisfied, if the *honest* course had been adopted by giving the proper name to the duties which it is admitted that General Grey or someone else *must* perform.

General Grey to Earl Russell.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 8*th March* 1866.

MY DEAR LORD RUSSELL,—The Queen desires me to return you the enclosed heads of the proposed Reform Bill. She kept them that she might have an opportunity of having the points she did not clearly understand, explained yesterday by Sir G. Grey.

Her Majesty can only express her hope that whatever is done may meet with the concurrence of the whole Cabinet, and that the introduction of this measure may not be productive of embarrassment to her Ministers.—C. GREY.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 12*th March* 1866.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

[1] By which, as mentioned in the postscript to the foregoing letter, General Grey and Sir Thomas Biddulph became Joint Keepers of H.M.'s Privy Purse.

He introduced this night the Electoral Franchise Bill in a statement of considerable length. A number of Members expressed their sentiments, the majority of them rather favourably; Mr. Horsman in the extreme sense of opposition. The general tone of the discussion, as compared with what might have been anticipated, was satisfactory to the Government; but no prediction can as yet be hazarded.

The debate has been adjourned, and it will be resumed to-morrow with a speech from Mr. Lowe, probably in opposition to the Bill. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19*th March* 1866.—Received an important letter from Fritz, saying the King wished for English mediation, and hoped I could again prevent war.[1] Vicky likewise wrote, in great anxiety about it.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 20*th March* 1866.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—I kiss your dear hand for your most kind letter which arrived yesterday, and which I am alas! only able to answer by a few hurried lines. What is of great importance for you to know *is* that "the wicked man"[2] is *frantic* that the K[ing] should have desired F[ritz] to write to you—said that would not do—that crossed his plans etc., etc., and was a useless interference etc., etc., that he should write to Count Bernstorff to explain his views etc., etc.—in short was very angry, and will now *do all* he can to pin the K[ing] to his politics and paralyse any intervention from elsewhere. I think you should know this without delay, therefore I write it directly, even though it may appear like an intrigue—which I *hate*. . . .

[1] Between Austria and Prussia. See Introductory Note.
[2] Bismarck.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *23rd March* 1866.—The Queen has heard from Mr. Gladstone that the Cabinet is to meet to-day to consider their course with respect to Lord Grosvenor's motion.[1]

She would therefore ask Lord Russell seriously to consider whether it will not be better to yield to the very general desire that Reform should be treated as a whole; and, by postponing the present Bill till the other measures are also ready for introduction, to avoid the risk of a crisis which, taking place at this moment, would interfere so injuriously with public business.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, *23rd March* 1866.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to state that the Cabinet have just decided,

1. That they cannot agree to Lord Grosvenor's motion, which they consider as a vote of want of confidence.

2. But that, before moving the next stage, namely going into Committee on the Bill, Mr. Gladstone will lay on the table Bills for the Scotch and Irish Franchise, and for the redistribution of Seats. Mr. Kinglake proposes to raise this question.

It is the opinion of Lord Russell that this announcement will dispel the danger arising from Lord Grosvenor's motion, though it cannot be disguised that the path of Reform is beset with difficulties, and that the general inclination of the House of Commons is by no means favourable to the reduction of the franchise.

If, however, public opinion is favourable to the Government Bill, matters will change their aspect.

[1] This motion was to the effect that the House of Commons deemed it inexpedient to discuss the Franchise Bill until the whole Government scheme for the Reform of Representation should be before it. See Introductory Note to this chapter. Earl Grosvenor (1825–1899), M.P. for Chester 1847–1869, succeeded his father as 3rd Marquis of Westminster in 1869, and was raised to the Dukedom of Westminster in 1874.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

24*th March* 1866.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to forward the private letters of to-day which Lord Russell, when he left town this evening, was obliged to leave with Lord Clarendon in order that they might be answered.

Your Majesty will have seen by the drafts of despatches a report of Count Bismarck's letter to Count Bernstorff, and of the conversation between the latter and Lord Clarendon, respecting the good offices of England in the differences that have arisen between Prussia and Austria. Lord Clarendon had another conversation this morning with Count Bernstorff (the substance of which he has not yet had time to write) in which he recapitulated all that had passed, and found that his report had been correct, although the necessity of annexing the duchies [1] was stated even more strongly in Count Bismarck's letter than in Lord Clarendon's report.

Count Bismarck's letter was altogether at variance with that which the Crown Prince by direction of the King wrote to your Majesty; the only allusion to Lord Clarendon's private letter to Lord A. Loftus [2] was comprised in a few words to the effect that, although public opinion in Prussia would be strongly opposed to any foreign intervention in Prussian affairs, yet that the King might not object to have recourse to the good offices of England if his Majesty was not convinced that Austria stood more in need of them than Prussia, because—and then followed a long catalogue of complaints against Austria for her bad faith, and bitter and unvarying hostility to Prussia. Lord Clarendon asked Count Bernstorff to-day whether, if Austria were to withdraw from Holstein and quietly to permit Prussia to annex that duchy, all complaints against Austria would not cease. Count Bernstorff replied that they at

[1] Of Schleswig and Holstein. [2] British Ambassador at Berlin.

once and unquestionably would. Lord Clarendon further asked whether his suggestion as to the reference of matters in dispute to a friendly Power was not, in consequence of Count Bismarck's letter, to be considered as *non avenu*, and Count Bernstorff answered that such was his view of the matter.

Upon the whole, therefore, it seems clear that the King was disposed to take the course of a friendly reference, and that in this, as in most other matters, his Majesty has succumbed to the stronger will of his Minister.

General Grey to Earl Russell.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 26*th March* 1866.

Private and Confidential.

MY DEAR LORD RUSSELL.—The Queen is so entirely prostrated by one of her worst headaches, that she is quite unable to write herself, as she would otherwise have wished to do. Her Majesty has, therefore, desired me, through Princess Helena, to inform you, very confidentially, of a letter from the Queen of Prussia (written in the greatest alarm), in which she says that if you are to do anything to arrest war, *there is no time to lose*.

The Queen suspects, from the tone of the letters she receives, that the King is a good deal hurt at his willingness to accept of our good offices having met with so little response. At the same time her Majesty conceives that this may be occasioned by the seeming determination of Prussia only to accept of such one-sided good offices as would facilitate the accomplishment of her own iniquitous schemes of aggrandisement; and much as her Majesty would wish to prevent a war in Germany, she is sure her Government will never consent, directly or indirectly, to assist such designs on the part of Prussia.

Count Bernstorff's conversation with Lord Clarendon, as described in the enclosed letter[1] which

[1] The preceding letter of 24th March.

the Queen wishes to have back, in which he openly states the conditions on which Prussian complaints against Austria would cease, entirely confirms this view. But the Queen is confident that, if her Government interferes at all in this question, it will never depart from the true English Constitutional principle, that, when one Government has been set aside, no new one shall be established without the wishes of the people concerned having been consulted.

In the meantime the Queen has not answered the letter from the Crown Prince, of which she sent a copy to Lord Clarendon some days ago; and she desires me to remind you of your kind promise to send her a draft of what she should say. Her Majesty would wish to have this draft in time to write by the messenger who goes to Berlin to-morrow.—C. GREY.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Peabody.

[*Draft.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26*th March* 1866.—The Queen hears that Mr. Peabody intends shortly to return to America, and she would be sorry that he should leave England without being assured by herself, how deeply she appreciates the noble act of more than princely munificence by which he has sought to relieve the wants of the poorer class of her subjects residing in London. It is an act, as the Queen believes, wholly without a parallel, and which will carry its best reward in the consciousness of having contributed so largely to the assistance of those who can little help themselves.

The Queen would not, however, have been satisfied without giving Mr. Peabody some public mark of her sense of his munificence, and she would gladly have conferred upon him either a Baronetcy or the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, but that she understands Mr. Peabody to feel himself debarred from accepting such distinctions.

It only remains, therefore, for the Queen to give

Mr. Peabody this assurance of her personal feelings, which she would further wish to mark by asking him to accept a miniature portrait of herself which she will desire to have painted for him, and which, when finished, can either be sent to him in America, or given to him on the return, which she is happy to hear he meditates, to the country that owes him so much.[1]

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, *27th March* 1866.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he has spoken to Lord Clarendon on the subject your Majesty mentioned to him.

Lord Clarendon is evidently annoyed at some change which he thinks he perceives in your Majesty's behaviour to him since he last held the Seals of the Foreign Office.

He says that he is quite ready to furnish to your Majesty any assistance in his power, but that your Majesty never consults him, never asks him for information on any subject beyond the appointment of a Consul.

It will perhaps tend to produce a better state of things if your Majesty will ask him to write from time to time an account of the aspect of foreign affairs, and the relations with foreign States. Your Majesty asked for such reports from Lord Russell, and Lord Russell is conscious that he very imperfectly performed this duty.

Queen Victoria to the Crown Prince of Prussia.

[*Translation.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, *28th March* 1866.

DEAR FRITZ,—Sharing all your desire to see Peace preserved in Germany, and anxious as I am that my Government should contribute to that desirable end,

[1] Mr. Peabody, in his reply, wrote: "Next to the approval of my own conscience, I shall always prize the assurance which your Majesty's letter conveys to me of the approbation of the Queen of England, whose whole life has shown that her exalted station has in no degree diminished her sympathy with the humblest of her subjects."

I have been longer answering your letter than I could have wished. I could not do so without first consulting my Ministers [1]; and I now fear that the course pursued by the Prussian Government, under the influence of Count Bismarck, makes it very difficult, if not impossible, for England to interfere with her good offices.

In the conversation on the subject which Lord Clarendon had with Count Bernstorff, the latter said, speaking in the name of his Government, and in answer to Lord Clarendon's offer to represent at Vienna any complaints that Prussia might have to make, that full information on the subject had already been conveyed to Vienna, and no redress had been obtained; from which Lord Clarendon inferred that Count Bismarck did not wish any representation of those complaints to be made by England to the Austrian Government, with a view of explanations. Count Bernstorff further stated that the interests of Prussia absolutely required the annexation of the duchies; to which Lord Clarendon replied that this was an object in which no assistance could be expected from England.

As long as Prussia adheres to these two points, it is evident that all hope of the interference of England must be abandoned; and I must say, much as I should lament war between Austria and Prussia, I should grieve still more if my Government made themselves parties, either directly or indirectly, to so gross a violation of all the principles on which we pride ourselves in England, as the violent annexation of the duchies to Prussia against the known feelings and wishes of the People.

I must also mention that a strong suspicion exists, that Count Bismarck had information of Lord Augustus Loftus's conversation with the King conveyed to Paris, thus abusing his master's confidence, in order to defeat the pacific views of the King.

[1] This letter follows, in general terms, the advice given to her Majesty by Lord Russell in a letter dated 28th March.

The Duchess of Coburg to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*]

GOTHA, 28*th March* 1866.—I take advantage of a safe opportunity to send you the following important communication from Ernest. He entreats you "not to indulge in ANY *hopes* of *Peace*; as, unfortunately, the sad probability of war becomes ever more evident and more inevitable, and is as dexterously as surely prepared." Confidential and trustworthy correspondents both in Vienna and Berlin keep Ernest completely *au courant* of the most secret proceedings. In Berlin NO ONE wishes for war—neither the King, nor the Princes, nor any other mortal, but, singly and solely, Count *Bismarck*. It is he who wishes to carry it through *à tout prix*—who drives the King, step by step, into these embarrassments—who conceals from him the warning despatches sent by foreign Powers, so that the King *learns nothing* of *them*, and *knows nothing*. Prussia has already gone so far as to send to us, as to the other States of the Confederation, a circular, which *demands* a declaration as to *who* will fight FOR, and *who* AGAINST, Prussia! We stand, however, on the principle of the Confederate constitution, and can only act in accordance with it.

Ernest urgently entreats that, on *your* part, a *most serious* warning should be addressed to Prussia, *not* to break the Peace. His sole remaining hope is, that *serious* measures, taken in *conjunction* with France, might yet avail to ward off this incalculably great misfortune.

Bismarck proceeds with such hasty steps, and still unchecked, on his disastrous course, that *immediate*, *decisive* help is a necessity, if it is not to come too late.

I now conclude these lines, the object of which is too important to admit of delay. ALEXANDRINE.

P.S.—The King of Prussia has, in an *autograph* letter to Ernest, declared his *entirely peaceful views*. Matters are so represented to him, that he believes Austria to wish to attack him.

Private. Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 29*th March* 1866.—The Queen was too unwell to answer Lord Russell sooner and thank him for his kind letter of the 27th. Lord Clarendon is *quite wrong* in what he says; the Queen has consulted him upon all foreign matters, as before —either personally or through General Grey, which Lord Russell well knows, in the present sad and *altered* circumstances, she *must* do, as she is totally unable to write and talk as much as she did. But the Queen was met most frequently by a petulant irritated tone, frequently of a reproachful and *defensive* character, which at once put a stop to all discussion, and indeed was so unpleasant, as to make the Queen shrink from seeing him. And this irritation has been universally remarked.

Of course the sad misfortune which crushed the Queen's happiness *for ever*, which has deprived her and the country of the wisest and best of men, and her home of its sunshine and pride, has altered many things; but this is *God's* and not the Queen's doing; and the Queen thinks that *all* should try (and most do) to make her *almost herculean* task (and she often thinks her health and strength *must* sink under it, alone and unaided) as easy as possible. Lord Russell has shown the Queen always kind sympathy and the greatest readiness to aid and facilitate her hard, hard work, and she feels deeply grateful for it. The Queen will, however, take no notice of Lord Clarendon's crossness, and ask him, as Lord Russell suggests, from time to time to give her information on the state of Foreign affairs.

What does Lord Russell hear of the prospects of the Government?

The Queen has felt Queen Marie Amélie's [1] death deeply, and her visit to Claremont upset her very much. Her loss to her family is irreparable.

[1] The ex-Queen of the French, Louis Philippe's widow. She died at Claremont on 24th March.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 30*th March* 1866.—Sent a memorandum to Lord Russell, showing the absolute necessity of our attempting to do something, in conjunction with France, to arrest the misfortunes a war would entail.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

THE GROVE, 31*st March* 1866.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to say that he has just received from Lord Russell your Majesty's Memorandum upon the present alarming state of things in Germany.

It is unnecessary for Lord Clarendon to say how entirely he concurs with your Majesty respecting the outrageous conduct of Prussia, or rather of M. de Bismarck, who is the sole author of all these impending troubles, but Lord Clarendon much fears that they cannot now be arrested by the course of proceeding, wise and humane though it is, that your Majesty suggests.

Lord Clarendon some time ago consulted Lord Cowley as to the possibility of a joint representation being made by England and France against the unjust and high-handed proceedings of Prussia, and he was informed that the prospects of war in Germany were by no means displeasing to the Emperor, and in Lord Cowley's letter of yesterday he says that this war may divert public attention from the unsatisfactory state of things in France. No co-operation therefore is to be expected from France, but Lord Clarendon will write this evening to Lord Cowley and desire him to ask M. Drouyn whether England and France could justify it to themselves not to make an effort in favour of peace, and to prevent a war so groundless and unjustifiable.

It is quite clear that the good offices of England single-handed would not be accepted by Prussia; they have been offered indirectly and confidentially,

and declined; if they were proposed officially we should receive an insolent refusal.

Lord Clarendon ventures to express the opinion, in which Lord Russell entirely concurs, that although we might join with France in mediation or the employment of good offices, yet that we could not, even in conjunction with France, use the language of menace which might entail the necessity of action, first, because the time for such action is gone by; we might have gone to the defence of Denmark when she was attacked by Austria and Prussia, but it was wisely determined that such a war ought not to be undertaken. Secondly, because, England having acquiesced, although under protest, in the Treaty by which Austria and Prussia obtained possession of the duchies, it is for Germany, which invoked the war and which is strong enough, to assist Austria in doing right and to settle the duchies in the manner conformable to the wishes of the inhabitants. Thirdly, the case is one in which neither English honour nor English interests are involved. We have spoken in defence of right; we cannot actively interfere with those who are quarrelling over the spoils; and in the present state of Ireland, and the menacing aspect of our relations with the United States, the military and pecuniary resources of England must be husbanded with the utmost care. The country would not tolerate any direct interference in a quarrel with which we had no concern; and all those Members of your Majesty's Government, who attended the Cabinet on Thursday last, expressed themselves in the strongest terms against it. . . .

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, *3rd April* 1866.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to transmit a letter received this morning from Lord Cowley, which confirms Lord Clarendon's expectations as to the view which would be taken

by the French Government with respect to interference of any kind, having for its object to prevent war between the two German Powers. . . .

The Italian Minister at Paris has informed M. Drouyn that his Government is hard pressed by that of Prussia to conclude a Treaty for an offensive and defensive alliance against Austria, and he endeavoured to ascertain the opinion of M. Drouyn as to the answer which should be given to the overtures of Prussia. He was told that France would remain neutral in Germany, and would observe the same policy in Italy, with the proviso, however, that the aggressor must look for no sympathy from France. The Emperor has approved the language of his Minister.

Count Bernstorff has to-day read a long despatch to Lord Clarendon from Count Bismarck, giving a detailed account of the vast preparations for war now being made by Austria, and the forces now assembling on the Silesian frontier. Lord Clarendon in reply, and with all due respect, said that he did not believe these returns, as the information he had received was in direct contradiction to them. The French Ambassador has subsequently told Lord Clarendon that the information upon this matter received by his Government from the Duc de Gramont entirely coincided with that which has been transmitted by Lord Bloomfield.

Count Bismarck's case for war is so utterly groundless that Lord Clarendon ventures to think that the King must, before he decides for war, become aware of the truth, notwithstanding all the unscrupulous contrivances resorted to to conceal it from him.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] BERLIN, *4th April* 1866.

BELOVED MAMA,— . . . We are still midway suspended between peace and war; not a day passes without some little incident which might be easily laid hold of to turn the scales on the side of peace,

and not a day passes that the wicked man does not with the *greatest* ability counteract and thwart what is good, and drive on towards war, turning and twisting everything to serve his own purpose.

As often as we are a little hopeful again and see a means of getting out of the fix, we hear shortly after that the means have been rendered unavailable; the *tissue* of untruths is such that one gets quite perplexed with only listening to them, but the net is cleverly made, and the King, in spite of *all* his reluctance, gets more and more entangled in it without perceiving it. . . . VICTORIA.

Queen Victoria to the King of Prussia.

[*Translation.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 10*th April* 1866.

BELOVED BROTHER,—At this fearful moment I cannot be silent, without raising my voice, earnestly, and in the name of all that is most holy and sacred, against the threatened probability of war. It is in your power to avert the calamities of a war, the results of which are too fearful to be even thought of, and in which thousands of innocent lives will be lost, and brother will be arrayed against brother.

War is ever fearful, but when it is begun for mere objects of ambition, for imaginary affronts and wrongs, it is still more fearful. You are deceived, you are made to believe that you are to be attacked, and I, your true friend and sister, hear your honoured name attacked and abused for the faults and recklessness of others—or, rather more, of *one* man!

As you value the life of thousands, as you value the sacred trust, which as a Sovereign you have in your keeping, of maintaining the peace of the world and of promoting the happiness of your own country and of the rest of Germany, and if you have any regard for the memory of him who was your friend (my beloved husband), and for my affection and friendship—pause before you permit so fearful an act as the commencement of a war, the responsibility of which will rest on *you alone*, to be committed.

I have ever had confidence in your spirit of justice, and in your Christian humanity, and I cannot, will not, think that I shall have appealed to your heart in vain! Ever your affectionate and unhappy Sister and Friend, Victoria R.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 10*th April* 1866.—The Queen feels so painfully and strongly the monstrous wickedness, as well as the fearful results which a war in Germany will entail, that she has felt it a *duty* as a near relation and friend of the King's, to make a *strong* appeal to him *personally* to desist, and she sends for Lord Russell and Lord Clarendon the translation of what she has written![1] She has sent it off to-day by a servant of hers, enclosed by Lieutenant-General Grey to Lord A. Loftus, asking him to deliver it himself to the King, as *no one* can be relied on there, and she thinks it better to send it through *no* one else.

Lord Augustus Loftus to General Grey.

Private. BRITISH EMBASSY, BERLIN, 14*th April* 1866.

MY DEAR GENERAL GREY,—The Queen's Courier delivered to me your letter of the 10th instant at the Potsdam Station on his arrival on Thursday morning, and, just as I was starting for the Neues Palais, the King and Queen and Royal children were on the point of starting with a special train for Potsdam. His Majesty graciously invited me into his carriage. I opened therefore your letter in the presence of the King, and informed him that it enclosed a letter for his Majesty from the Queen.

The King immediately requested me to deliver it, so that I was enabled to carry out her Majesty's orders in the most expeditious manner.

The King opened the letter and read it with great attention, and I thought to perceive that it made an impression on him.

[1] *I.e.* the previous letter.

You may be certain that I shall take care that the Queen's letter be viewed as the private act of her Majesty, and that it shall not in any way compromise the Government.

I instructed the Queen's Courier to repair to Potsdam, and to place himself under the orders of the Crown Prince, and to hold himself in readiness to start for England whenever his Royal Highness should despatch him.

Everything has gone off most successfully, and the Crown Princess and infant Princess [1] (a magnificent child) are going on most satisfactorily. . . . Very sincerely yours, AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

37 CHESHAM PLACE, 19*th April* 1866.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty: he cannot but perceive that although, if all the Liberal Members vote, there will be a majority for the Government,[2] yet the defection is so great that more than have been reckoned may side with the Opposition or stay away, and leave the Government in a minority on Monday night.

In that case your Majesty's Ministers will have to deliberate upon the choice of humbly tendering their resignation to your Majesty, or of advising a dissolution. And your Majesty should be prepared for this state of affairs, and the alternatives it suggests.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 20*th April* 1866.—Went into the drawing-room to receive Prince Teck, who has come for the night. I welcomed him as a future cousin and introduced him to Christian, who, with Lenchen, was there. Remained talking a short while, and then went upstairs. . . . Prince Teck sat next to me at dinner

[1] Princess Victoria, born 12th April 1866; married in 1890 to Prince Adolf of Schaumberg-Lippe.

[2] On the second reading of the Franchise Bill.

and talked pleasantly; he is natural, unassuming, and good-humoured; and seems to have good sense.[1]

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, *25th April* 1866.—The Queen has received Lord Russell's letter informing her of the critical state of affairs. She trusts that the Government will have a majority, but, should they not, she thinks that it will require much careful consideration as to what should be done.

Under ordinary circumstances a dissolution so soon after another is a thing much to be deprecated, and indeed under *any* it is much to be regretted. But there are many considerations on this occasion which must not be lost sight of.

First. The Country is said not to be anxious for a change of Government.

Secondly. Is there any chance, if there should be one, of its being one *able* to stand?

Thirdly. Ought not the Country to be asked to pronounce its opinion on the subject of Reform?

Fourthly. If a Conservative Government were to come in, they would probably also ask for a dissolution, and considering that this Parliament was returned to support Lord Palmerston, it might be difficult to refuse it, consequently the danger of agitation would not be avoided. It is not to be denied that a dissolution at this moment would be fraught with much inconvenience and even risk to the Public Service, but so would a change of Government, and the Queen cannot help hoping that some course might be found possible by which, without lowering the dignity or injuring the honour of the Government, the wishes of Parliament could be conciliated.

These are the questions which strike the Queen as very important, and which she wishes should be very carefully considered.

[1] Prince Teck and Princess Mary of Cambridge, father and mother of Queen Mary, were married in Kew Church on 12th June 1866, in Queen Victoria's presence.

The Government may rely on her support in any decision which they may submit to her.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

25*th April* 1866.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to return the copy of the King of Prussia's letter,[1] which is a reproduction of all the stereotyped accusations against Austria which Count Bismarck has sent forth during the last three months, and which, even if true, would form no justification for war.

The King, being an honest and honourable man, has strange delusions about the obligations which honour and honesty impose, but in nothing is his Majesty's power of deluding himself more strongly displayed than in his belief that he is not influenced by his Minister.

The offer of Austria to begin disarming one day before Prussia was generous and gentlemanlike, but it has not been met in a corresponding spirit, and it is impossible not to fear that even in this peace-preserving process some fresh cause for dissension may arise.

Lady Augustus Loftus told Lord Clarendon this evening that Count Bismarck said a few days ago that his illness and possible death might prevent the war, upon which if he had been in health he should have insisted.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

Osborne, 27*th April* 1866.—Christian came to take leave. I have had very satisfactory conversations with him regarding all the arrangements for the marriage and the proposed date. Nothing can be nicer, more gentlemanlike, or more full of *regards* than he is. I feel this very much, and this visit has

[1] In answer to the Queen's appeal.

made me get to know him much better, and appreciate his excellent qualities and sterling worth.[1]

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

27*th April* 1866.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to say that the Marquis d'Azeglio complained to him last night, by order of General La Marmora, that Austria was actively making military preparations which were incomprehensible to the Italian Government, who had made none, but that as she had taken the initiative Italy would also take similar measures.

Lord Clarendon observed that General La Marmora had studied with good effect in the school of Count Bismarck, as he used exactly the same language with exactly the same foundation for it as the Prussian Minister; but Lord Clarendon asked if it was true that General La Marmora had often and openly announced that he would go to war with Austria the day after it was declared against her by Prussia, also whether arrangements offensive and defensive had not been made between Italy and Prussia,[2] also whether bodies of troops had not been moved northwards from Naples, and if these could not be denied how could it be said that Austria had no cause to fear attack, or that she was blameable in preparing to repel it?

These preparations, as it would appear from a telegram of Messrs. Reuters which Lord Clarendon begs to transmit, are to be made a fresh pretext by Prussia for postponing the demobilisation of her army!

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 28*th April* 1866 (4 *a.m.*).—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

[1] Prince Christian was married to Princess Helena in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on 5th July, Queen Victoria giving her daughter away.

[2] A treaty of "offensive and defensive alliance" had been concluded between Prussia and Italy on 8th April, of which the essential clause provided that, after Prussia had declared war against Austria, Italy should do the like. See Introductory Note to this chapter.

The debate to-night was carried on with varying interest until a quarter past ten. Lord Cranborne[1] spoke with much acuteness against the Government, but was not quite equal to himself. The O'Donoghue, who has commonly appeared, in other years, as the representative of extreme opinions from Ireland, made a speech really admirable in expression, in ability, and in spirit. A great and favourable change may be perceived in the tone of the Liberal Irish Members this year.

Mr. Disraeli rose at twenty minutes after ten, and spoke until a little after one. The speech was rather discursive; it was, of course, of great ability, and was received in parts with rapturous cheers by his friends. But the extraordinary oratorical merit of Mr. Lowe's speech of yesterday rather cast it into the shade.

It was Mr. Gladstone's lot to follow Mr. Disraeli. He sat down at ten minutes after three.

The numbers were:

Ayes (for the Bill)	318
Noes (for the amendment)	313
Majority	5

This must be considered an anxious result, though Mr. Gladstone himself feels little doubt as to the course which should be taken, for the time and until the next stage.

The Bill was read a second time: and the Committee fixed nominally for Monday, to give time for further consideration.

P.S.—Mr. Gladstone has no occasion to trouble your Majesty with any reference to his own speech,[2] beyond this, that in the name of the Government he stated to the House their willingness to consider

[1] Lord Robert Cecil (afterwards Lord Salisbury the Prime Minister) had become Viscount Cranborne through the death of his elder brother in 1865.

[2] This was the famous speech in which Mr. Gladstone spoke of his generous reception by the Liberals when he came among them as the shipwrecked Æneas came to Dido, *ejectum littore, egentem.* The Bill might fail, he said, but *exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.* He added: "You cannot fight against the future; time is on our side."

any question of *procedure*, in deference to any wishes entertained by persons having a common object with themselves in the settlement of the question by a reduction of the County and Borough Franchises.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 28*th April* 1866.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to state that, in regard to the smallness of the majority by which the second reading of the Franchise Bill was carried last night, several Members of the Cabinet raised the question of the expediency of the resignation of your Majesty's confidential servants. But Mr. Gladstone and Lord Russell argued strongly that, with a majority in their favour, your Majesty's Ministers could not say that they had resigned after having done every thing that was due to your Majesty and to the country without effect.

Your Majesty's Ministers therefore remain, and Mr. Gladstone will on Monday announce the Bill for the Redistribution of Seats for Monday week.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

OSBORNE, 29*th April* 1866.—The Queen thanks Lord Russell for his letter, and hears with much satisfaction of the intention of her Ministers not to resign; for she looks with much anxiety and alarm to the consequences of a political crisis in the present state of public affairs.

At the same time she must express her anxious hope that Lord Russell will give its due weight to the evident feeling of the House of Commons, and that in determining not to abandon the Queen's service, he will be careful to avoid anything which, from an idea that the honour and consistency of the Government would require it, might have the effect of shutting the door to such a settlement of this most difficult question (even if it should not be possible to effect it in the course of this Session) as may be accepted by all Parties.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

Dictated to Helena.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 6*th May* 1866.—Lord Clarendon came to Buckingham Palace at 5 o'clock. He said the state of affairs was very alarming; yesterday the news seemed better, to-day worse; still, till that first *shot* was *actually fired*, he would not believe in war becoming a reality.

Could England and France do nothing together, positively to prevent such an awful misfortune as this war in Germany? Nothing, he replied; the Emperor would do nothing (and this was confirmed by a telegram he received from Lord Cowley, while he was with me); he had written to Lord Cowley, who was to see the Emperor, urging that, if three people were quarrelling, each declaring he meant not to hurt the other, why should a fourth person stand by without trying to explain the cause of the quarrel to the others and thus make Peace? For in fact everybody was arming against somebody, and everybody declared they wanted to attack nobody. Could we not threaten or remonstrate? Lord Clarendon said he feared that that would *not* do; he had prepared a draft in which it was proposed England should do *alone* what was intended to be done with France, viz. make an *appeal* to the conflicting Powers; but the Cabinet had not agreed to it, thinking it would only *show* to the world that France was *not* agreed. And in the same way with any demonstration of our fleet; it would not be sufficient if we acted alone, and we had weakened ourselves so much by a threatening policy without its being supported by deeds. We agreed that it was a great mistake on the part of the Emperor N[apoleon] to refuse to join in an appeal, as it would raise his position in Europe immensely.

I offered, if it would be of any use, to write myself to the Emperor (though I was no longer on such a footing with him) as I considered my vocation to be

that of trying to do good in the world. Lord Clarendon thanked [me] and said he would consider it; he deprecated the war in the highest degree as it would be a fearful civil one; Europe was in a most combustible state, and there was great danger of our being isolated, he thought, and God knows how long we should be able to keep out of it; Belgium we were bound to defend. Count Bernstorff said it was not a civil war as he did not consider the *Austrians Germans*!! He was afraid the Austrians had been rather too rash in arming, as it really seemed from the enquiries he had made that there was no intention on the part of Italy to attack Austria. He alluded to Lord Russell's extraordinary letter[1] which he entirely disapproved (as I had suspected from his silence), and thought Alexander Mensdorff's letter admirable; he had told Lord Russell that he must circulate it as well as his own. He feared that Lord Russell had written a most unfortunate rejoinder to Count Apponyi, which the latter had designated as quite incomprehensible as the writing of a former Minister for Foreign Affairs. In alluding to the Conference Lord Clarendon said it was by no means given up, but the great difficulty would be to define beforehand what the discussions were to be about. Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys he described as most untrue and intriguing. He said that whatever was done it would be impossible for this Government ever to take part in any Conference in which Prussia was permitted to annex the duchies, than which there was no more atrocious act of spoliation, and he could not answer [for] our doing so before God or Man. V. R.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *7th May* 1866.—The Queen has seen a letter from Lord Russell to Lord Clarendon,

[1] To the Austrian Ambassador, Count Apponyi, suggesting that Austria should cede Venetia to Italy.

at the end of which he speaks of Mr. Gladstone's want of conciliatoriness. She deeply regrets this, for she thinks that this question of Reform ought to be settled for the good of the Country, in as quiet and conciliatory a manner as possible, and that the Government should try and meet the wishes of Parliament and the Country, as much as it is in their power to do.

Should the Queen write in this sense to Mr. Gladstone ?

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

37 CHESHAM PLACE, *8th May* 1866.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty ; he thinks the speech of Mr. Gladstone last night [1] so conciliatory that it would not be fitting that your Majesty should write to him, except in very general terms, recommending conciliation in carrying the Reform Bill through Parliament.

As Lord Clarendon wrote to your Majesty some words used by Lord Russell in reference to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Russell hopes that Lord Clarendon repeated to your Majesty the words he used in reference to the Bill ; that he was ready to give way on any point of form or substance, except on the £7 franchise in boroughs, to which he must adhere.

In fact he would consider any change on this point to £8, or any other figure, a mark of ignominy on the Government, to which he and Mr. Gladstone could not submit.

The Earl of Clarendon to General Grey.

14th May 1866.

MY DEAR GREY,—I cannot believe that there would be the slightest use in the Queen's again writing to the King of Prussia ; I wish I did. Her Majesty could not express herself more strongly than she has already done, and she would only again be

[1] In introducing the Redistribution of Seats Bill.

told that it is all the fault of Austria, and that Prussia is always innocent and always in the right. Yours sincerely, CLARENDON.

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] NEUES PALAIS, 19*th May* 1866.

MY BELOVED MAMA,— . . . I have hardly courage to write, I can do nothing but harp on that *one* unfortunate theme. Fritz gave your letter to the King, but he has not said anything about it. Fritz does not think the King will accept the proposal, and thinks that the Congress could only propose solutions which either Prussia or Austria would not agree to. I do not despair, but I think the chances of peace become smaller every day! Heaven help us! It is a most miserable, wretched time.

Our christening[1] will be such a sad one; the day after, my Fritz leaves and joins his troops, taking the command of the *Silesian Army*; when and where I shall see him again, I do not know; what I feel I cannot tell you. I think my heart will break. All is uncertain, and ruin and misfortune of every kind *likely*.

We hear nothing talked of all day but war and preparations for it. The command which Fritz has received is very fine and very honourable, but a most difficult one; he will have almost exclusively Poles under him, which you know are not so pleasant as Germans. He is busy forming his staff and has been lucky enough to find some very good officers. . . . Your devoted Daughter, VICTORIA.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 25*th May* 1866.—The Queen thinks it right to send this memorandum to Lord Russell relative to her health.

She *must* say that she feels she COULD *not* go on working as she does, *without any real* relaxation (for

[1] Of Princess Victoria. See above, p. 319.

she never is without her boxes and despatches, etc.; which her Ministers *often* are, for a few weeks at least) IF she did *not* get that change of scene and that pure air, which always gives her a *little* strength, *twice* a year. Nine or ten days are very short, but *still* they will do her some good, and she will have *more courage* to struggle onwards, though every year, which adds to her age, finds her nervous system and general strength *more and more* shaken. She always fears some complete breakdown some day; and she is just now greatly in *want* of *something* to revive her after an autumn, winter, and spring of great anxiety, and many sorrows and annoyances of a domestic nature, which shake her very nervous temperament very severely.

The Queen's absence in Scotland has *never* caused *any* inconvenience hitherto, and the Queen would talk over with Lord Russell and Lord Clarendon *every possible* contingency which would have to be decided, with great promptitude, so that a mere reference by cypher (and she could establish one specially between herself and Lord Clarendon) would give an answer without a moment's delay.

The Queen goes to Cliveden[1] to-morrow till the 2nd or 3rd June, but can see any of the Ministers there *any day* between 12 and 4, if they will only let her know. Perhaps one could come on Tuesday, and again on Friday or Saturday. From the *2nd or 3rd* till the 13th, the Queen would be *here*. The Queen would, if it were *very important*, put off going to Balmoral, to the 14th, but *not* longer as she *must* be back on the 26th, on account of Princess Helena's wedding on July 5th.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby. Confidential.*

CLIVEDEN, 29*th May* 1866.—The Queen had hoped to have seen Lord Derby before this time, but was

[1] Then Lord Westminster's house.

prevented by the alarming illness of his dear little grandson, at whose recovery she so truly rejoices. She, however, cannot refrain from writing him a few confidential lines to express her great anxiety at the present state of affairs. The Queen has known Lord Derby long and well, and has had so many proofs of his loyalty and devotion to her person and service, that she does not think she will appeal to him in vain, when she expresses her earnest hope that no violent or factious opposition will be pursued on this important question of Reform, which has for so many years been the cause of so much difficulty to succeeding Governments. However unpopular the question of Reform may be in itself, it is one, the calm and dispassionate discussion of which is of the utmost importance.

To raise agitation in the country, which is now, thank God, so quiet, in the present state of foreign affairs, would be most unfortunate, not to say alarming. She does ask Lord Derby to try and use his influence with his Party to treat this question *not* as a mere Party one, but with a view of settling it and trying to come to some agreement upon it, so that it may not become the cause of agitation and excitement in the country, the results of which might be very serious.

The Queen will not repeat what she has often said to Lord Derby, viz. how worn, shaken, and shattered she feels, but she may say, how peculiarly unfit she feels at the present moment to meet a crisis, which can lead to no permanent good. She has gone through such anxiety and worry this winter and spring, and Dr. Jenner thinks it absolutely necessary that she should have some complete change of air and scene; she is therefore going on the 13th June for *ten* days only to Balmoral, the loss of her usual spring visit being considered so very detrimental to her health. Hitherto that short change has kept her from suffering *seriously* from the constant wear and tear of anxiety which since December 1861 she has been exposed to.

The Queen writes this letter without the know-

ledge of anyone. She hopes soon to see Lord and Lady Derby at Windsor.[1]

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

CLIVEDEN, 31*st May* 1866.—The Queen grows so alarmed at the present aspect of public affairs, and at the prospect of a Ministerial crisis, while negotiations and discussions, on which the peace of the world may depend, are just about to take place, that she must appeal strongly to Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone to endeavour to avert the danger which now again seems imminent.

From the nature of the amendments moved, from the quarters from which they proceed, and from the tone of the debates in which they are discussed, it seems to the Queen *absolutely* hopeless to expect the Reform measure to pass during the present Session, or that changes will not be carried in it, which the Government might think it inconsistent with their pledges to accept. At the same time it is so evidently the interest of the Opposition to have the question settled, that the Queen cannot but hope, were *more time* given for deliberation, that such changes might be made in the measure, as would conciliate the support of those parties who now oppose it so vehemently. It is certain that the Redistribution of Seats Bill was brought in somewhat hastily, in compliance with the pressure of the House of Commons. If the Government should think it inconsistent with their honour, that the Session should terminate without the settlement of the question, might not a long adjournment take place, with a view to the removal of some of the

[1] Lord Derby, in his exhaustive reply (which would occupy *in extenso* about 5½ pages), deprecated a change of Government at the moment, and especially a change at the Foreign Office ; attributed the existing difficulties to the course pursued by Ministers since Lord Palmerston's death ; and trusted that they would even now withdraw their Reform Bill for the present session. But he considered that Bill so fatal to the Constitution that he must resist it to the utmost of his ability. If a crisis came, he would do his best to facilitate the formation of a safe and constitutional Government.

objections which have been made to the Bill in its present shape, and the discussion be resumed in October with better prospects of success? *Any* change at the Foreign Office at the *present* moment would be most unfortunate, indeed *most* serious; and it seems to the Queen that not only it would not be inconsistent with the honour of Government to postpone the further discussion of the Reform Bill at *this* moment, on *that* ground; but that it would be their *duty* towards *herself* and the *Country* to take *this* or *any* other step which may avert a crisis which cannot but have a *most injurious* influence on the conduct of *those* negotiations on which *the Peace of the world* depends!

The Queen hopes Lord Russell will communicate this urgent appeal from her to his colleagues in the Cabinet.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 2*nd June* 1866.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he has sent word to his colleagues and also read in the Cabinet your Majesty's letter of the 31st May. Your Majesty's confidential servants are very sensible of the difficulty of the present crisis, and of the inconvenience of a change of Government. They will therefore anxiously consider their position, before offering to your Majesty their resignations, in case of a defeat in the House of Commons.

The course of obstruction so openly followed by the Opposition makes it, however, very difficult to yield to them on any point without incurring just reproach on the part of the public as having abandoned their principles and forsaken their measure on light and insufficient grounds.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 10*th June* 1866.—After luncheon saw Lord Clarendon, who said there would be war,

as this convocation of the Holstein States[1] will be considered by Prussia as a *casus belli*. Talked of poor dear Vicky and where she could go in the event of war. Lord Clarendon will enquire quietly, through Lord A. Loftus, what should be done. But her place would be with the Queen and Royal Family.[2] He said there would be nothing important to decide during my short absence,[3] and that he thought there was no time when I could go with greater ease than now. Reform, too, would be no trouble. Lord Derby's party had made a very false move through Lord Stanley, and failed.[4]

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 16*th June* 1866.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to transmit the letters of Lords Cowley and Bloomfield.

He has to-day seen both Count Apponyi and Count Bernstorff, who of course consider that war has commenced, although there has up to this time been no formal declaration of it. Count Bernstorff expects it, however, by a courier to-morrow. . . .

The Prussians, having created all the difficulties, are meeting them, it must be confessed, with marvellous vigour and promptitude, and their blows follow their words in every direction. Austria seems to be slow and to have already lost some advantages. She ought not to have allowed the Prussians to enter Dresden. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 18*th June* 1866.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

[1] This had been ordered by the Austrian Government, which, under the Convention of Gastein, was in charge of Holstein. In reply, the Prussians, who were in much greater force on the spot, drove the Austrians out of the duchies. See Introductory Note to this chapter.

[2] Of Prussia. [3] At Balmoral.

[4] Lord Stanley had moved to postpone the franchise clauses to the redistribution clauses, and had been defeated by a majority of 17.

This evening Lord Dunkellin, seconded by a Member of the Opposition, moved the substitution of rateable for clear annual value as the basis of the Borough franchise.

The effect of the amendment was evidently to limit the enfranchisement conferred by the Bill. Mr. Gladstone stated early in the evening that the Government could not be parties to such a limitation.

The further question was whether the question could be handled as a dry practical and legal question apart from the political objects of the Bill. This would have been quite practicable had there been a disposition towards it. But the course of the debate too plainly showed the intention of the supporters of the amendment generally to use it as an instrument for restricting the proposed extension of the suffrage. The indication of this disposition was the most marked feature of the debate: in which Mr. Forster, the Solicitor-General, and Mr. Villiers, with Mr. Bright and Mr. Osborne, were the principal speakers on the side of the Government, Sir Hugh Cairns and Sir Robert Peel the most marked among their opponents. In consequence of the tone which prevailed, Mr. Gladstone stated at the close of the debate, that the Government could not engage themselves with regard to carrying on the Bill in the event of an adverse vote.

On the division, the numbers were:

For the Government	304
For Lord Dunkellin	315
Majority for Lord Dunkellin . .	11

Progress was reported hereupon; and the Order fixed for to-morrow evening. The Cabinet will meet to-morrow.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 19*th June* 1866.—The Queen considers it the bounden duty of her Government, in

the present state of the Continent, to set aside all personal considerations, and to continue at their posts. In fact, knowing the impossibility of forming another Government, the Queen could not accept their resignations.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 19*th June* 1866.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; your Majesty's Ministers have fully considered the purport of your Majesty's gracious message in connection with the vote of last night in the House of Commons.

The proceedings of the last few weeks have convinced them that they will gain nothing by protracted discussions on the Bill.

The reasons against a dissolution, founded on the general apathy of the South of England on the subject of Reform, appeared to them to be valid.

There remains only one course, and as they are not convinced till it has been tried that the experiment of forming a Government under Lord Derby may not succeed, your Majesty's Ministers feel themselves compelled, by their duty to your Majesty and the country, humbly to tender to your Majesty their resignation of the offices they hold.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

BALMORAL, 20*th June* 1866.—The Queen has received Lord Russell's letter with the greatest concern. The adverse vote in the House of Commons, and the step which the Ministers have thought it right to take in consequence, have taken her completely by surprise, having understood from Lord Russell, and others of the Government, whom she saw before going to Scotland, that there was no fear of a crisis.

In the present state of Europe, and the apathy which Lord Russell himself admits to exist in the country on the subject of Reform, the Queen cannot

think it consistent with the duty which the Ministers owe to herself and to the country, that they should abandon their posts in consequence of their defeat on a matter of detail (not of principle) in a question which can never be settled unless all sides are prepared to make concessions; and she must therefore ask them to reconsider their decision.

Lord Russell knows how often and how earnestly the Queen has appealed both to himself and Mr. Gladstone, not to incur the danger of producing a Ministerial crisis in the present state of Continental affairs, by forcing on the discussion of a question which all parties in Parliament, except that section of the House of Commons holding extreme opinions, were anxious to postpone. There has been no desire in any party to overthrow a Government which has the general confidence of the country, particularly as regards its Foreign policy, and instead of losing character by consenting to retain Office, the Queen is sure their doing so would be appreciated by the country as an act of duty and patriotism.

The Queen must therefore repeat that she cannot accept the resignations tendered to her, till the Ministers have again maturely considered their position.

Mr. Gladstone to General Grey.

11 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, 21*st June* 1866.

MY DEAR GREY,—I deeply feel, as we all do, for the annoyance and anxiety of this crisis to the Queen.

There are things that can and that cannot be done: to acquiesce in a further limitation of the enfranchisement we had so much cut down already from the standard of the Palmerston measure of 1860 would cover us with shame, and *would not settle the question.*

We could only, therefore, cast about for alternatives in directions other than this. Sincerely yours, W. GLADSTONE.

The House of Commons, may, I fear, be getting impatient on Monday.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 22*nd June* 1866.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty: he has considered carefully your Majesty's communication and proceeds to state the reflections which occur to him before laying that letter before his colleagues.

The serious view which your Majesty's Ministers took of the majority on Lord Dunkellin's amendment was not founded on any point of detail. The difference between rental and rating might have been adjusted by provisions adapting the rating value to the amount of rental proposed by the Government.

It was the general hostility shown by the House of Commons to the proposals brought forward by your Majesty's Ministers, which induced them to think that the vote on Lord Dunkellin's amendment showed on the part of the House of Commons a want of that confidence which is necessary to the existence of any Ministry.

Further, in regard to a dissolution of Parliament, Lord Russell mentioned apathy in the South of England, not general apathy in the country.

It seems to Lord Russell that, if the Reform Bill is postponed, your Majesty's Ministers must declare their adherence to the principles of that measure, and must be at liberty to submit the same measure, unaltered in regard to the substance of the franchises to be bestowed, but re-considered in its details, and amended in regard to the distribution of seats, either to the present or to a new Parliament.

Should they be of opinion that a dissolution is necessary for that purpose either now, or in the autumn, your Majesty would be entirely free, either to accept that advice, or to adopt the alternative, namely the resignation of your Majesty's Ministers.

Lord Russell is well aware that the critical state of the Continent, now engaged in war, makes it advisable, if possible, to avoid a change of Government.

At the same time your Majesty will recollect that,

when Lord Russell informed your Majesty that your advisers would probably think it necessary to introduce a Reform Bill, your Majesty expressed strongly and decidedly an opinion that, if any measure on this subject were introduced, it ought to be carried forward to a final result, and not trifled with or dropped without any serious intention of abiding by the measure proposed with the sanction of the Crown.

This opinion of your Majesty is entirely shared by Lord Russell. He considers that vacillation on such a question weakens the authority of the Crown, promotes distrust of public men, and inflames the animosities of parties.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 22*nd June* 1866.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; the Cabinet have been unable to decide to-day upon the important question submitted to them in your Majesty's letter. But Lord Russell will state to your Majesty on Tuesday the views of the Cabinet. Lord Russell did not at all foresee this crisis, and could not warn your Majesty of the probability of its occurrence.

It would be highly convenient for the purpose of communication that your Majesty should come early on Tuesday to Buckingham Palace, instead of going to Windsor.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

BALMORAL, 23*rd June* 1866.—The Queen has received Lord Russell's letter of yesterday. She regrets that it will be quite impossible for her after her long night journey to go to London on Tuesday, but she will be glad to receive Lord Russell or any other of her Ministers who may wish for an audience, both that day and Wednesday at Windsor.

There is nothing in the conditions which Lord Russell mentions as necessary to the continuance in

office of her present Ministers, to which the Queen would not be prepared to accede; though she cannot but regret, in a question which requires, for any chance of a settlement, considerable concessions on all sides, that her Ministers adhere so rigidly to a particular amount of franchise.

The Queen can have no objection to the statement Lord Russell proposes to make in Parliament, and would even wish her hesitation to receive the resignation of her Ministers, and her reasons for doing so, to be stated more strongly and explicitly.

The Queen will hope to see Lord Russell at one o'clock on Tuesday, or at half past twelve, if there is a train which arrives at that time.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

Windsor Castle, 26*th June* 1866.—Lord Russell came at a quarter to 1, and told the Queen that he had in fact come to tender the resignation of the Government, but he would tell her exactly how the matter stood. There had been a proposal for a vote of confidence, but Lord Russell gave reasons for its not being a thing which the Government could accept, as it might have the effect of their having acted with bad faith; and accordingly when the Cabinet met yesterday, it was thought that there was nothing for them to do but to resign. Lord Russell made then a proposal to the following effect, viz.: "to accept the vote of the majority of the House of Commons in regard to rating, but to maintain the Franchise of £7, for the numerous cases which the rating-franchise would exclude, it is therefore proposed to use the words on the last page—'Premises within the borough of the rateable value of £6 upwards or of the gross estimated rental of £7 or upwards.'" On this amendment the Cabinet were evenly divided, and in fact the majority was only obtained by Lord Russell's giving the casting vote.

Lord R. then asked the Queen what she would advise should be done; whether to accept the resigna-

tion or to make this further trial, which he thought would make it more clear, and would decide it more absolutely in favour of or against the Government. The Queen asked whether she could have a few hours to consider, if he would leave a memorandum of the amendment with her? but he replied this was not possible; the Cabinet were to meet as soon as he returned, and that the House of Commons were only to meet at 6, in order for Ministers then to state what course the Government would pursue. The Queen felt much the painful responsibility of having to decide without any further time for reflection, what should be done; but after a few minutes' thought she asked Lord R. whether the *Cabinet* could not decide what course would be best, but this, Lord R. said, the Cabinet could not take upon themselves. Upon which the Queen said, that he might state to the Cabinet "that if there was a chance of the amendment proposed by Lord R. being carried, and if the Cabinet agreed in the wisdom of the amendment being proposed, she would agree to it. But if, on the other hand, there was but little chance of carrying it, and the Cabinet were almost evenly divided against and for the amendment, she feared that she had no other alternative, annoying and painful as it was, but to accept their resignation."

The Queen then deprecated very strongly the course that had been pursued respecting the Reform Bill, told Lord R. how earnestly she had warned him to try and keep out of all these difficulties; but he replied that it was unavoidable, they had been so often and so deeply pledged to a Reform measure, and that this was a question of the same nature as those which Lord Grey had resigned upon, in the first Reform Bill; that he had told the Queen that it would be no use to go on with dishonour to themselves, though he admitted that Mr. Gladstone had not been as conciliatory as he might have been, but that he had been very much taunted. *This* last defeat was quite unexpected.

Lord Russell then left the room to *write* down the proposed amendment as given above, and asked the Queen to call Mr. Gladstone in the meantime, which she did. Mr. Gladstone looked ill and harassed. The Queen expressed her deep regret at the unfortunate state of affairs, and wished that Reform could have been avoided this year. Mr. Gladstone assented to this, but said that it was unavoidable—that the Cabinet had agreed in it, and reminded the Queen that she herself had said that it was very important that this question should be settled once for all, which the Queen agreed in still. He considered Parliament itself and the Legislature to be dishonoured and lowered by the way in which it had treated this question now for fifteen years.

On repeating what Lord Russell had proposed should be done, viz. : that he (Mr. G.) should propose the amendment above mentioned, the Queen repeated to him what she had said to Lord Russell, which he thought "*quite just.*" He further asked the Queen whether he might *state* to Parliament that the Queen had refused in the first instance to accept their resignation as she considered the defeat to be merely on a question of detail, to which she assented. Lord R. coming in at this moment, Mr. G. repeated the question. Lord R. asked permission to state this himself, as well as that the state of the Continent was one of the other reasons for not at once accepting the Ministers' resignation.

The Queen then repeated what she wished Lord R. to state to the Cabinet, and Mr. G. laid more stress than Lord R. did on the importance of its being a *real* majority of the Cabinet, and he also begged that the Queen would put down in writing exactly what she had empowered them to state, which she had already offered to do.

She must not omit to state that she discussed with Lord R. the question of a dissolution, the dangers it would expose the country to, and the little use it would be to the Government. Lord R. said that the

Cabinet were averse to it, and he could therefore not propose it.

The Queen left the room to write the memorandum, and the Ministers then left by special train for London. V. R.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26*th June* 1866.—The Queen has received Lord Russell's telegram informing her of the final resignation of her Ministers, which she has now no longer any alternative but to accept, and which she does with much regret.

The Queen has to-night written to Lord Derby, and has asked him to undertake to form a Government.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

[*Draft.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27*th June* 1866.—Her Ministers having placed their resignations in her hands, the Queen turns to Lord Derby, as to the only person whom she believes capable of forming such an Administration as will command the confidence either of the country or herself, and have the best chance of permanency.

The differences of opinion as to the principles on which the Government should be conducted, do not appear to the Queen to be such as ought to make it impossible for Lord Derby to obtain the assistance of some, at least, of those who have been supporters, or even Members, of the late Government. And any assistance which it may be in the Queen's power to afford towards the formation of a new Government on a more extended basis, she will be most anxious to offer.

The Queen will not name any time for seeing Lord Derby, but whenever he shall have had an opportunity of speaking to those friends whom he may wish to consult in the first instance, and expresses a wish to see her, she will be glad to receive him.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

St. James's Square, 27*th June* 1866.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty the expression of his deep gratitude for the confidence which your Majesty is pleased to place in him, and for the gracious manner in which, both by letter and verbally through General Grey, your Majesty has signified your wish that he should endeavour to form an Administration.

Your Majesty will fully appreciate the immense difficulties which he would have to encounter in attempting to obey your Majesty's commands; and should he venture to undertake the responsibility, he will be most grateful for the aid which your Majesty so graciously proffers, towards smoothing down any personal difficulties which may stand in the way. But the obstacles are so great, and the responsibility so heavy, that he trusts your Majesty will not think him unreasonable in wishing for a short delay which may enable him to consult some of those friends whose co-operation is indispensable. He hopes, however, to be able to do so in the course of the day; and, with your Majesty's permission, will go down to Windsor by the 2 p.m. train to-morrow, when he hopes to have the honour of an audience of your Majesty. Should a later hour, or even day, be more convenient to your Majesty, he need hardly say that he shall hold himself in readiness to obey any command with which your Majesty may honour him.

Queen Victoria to General Grey.

[*Copy.*]

28*th June* 1866.—The Queen wishes General Grey would tell Lord Derby that things are naturally greatly changed and altered since the terrible misfortune which laid low, for ever, the Queen's happiness; that she depends much on those who surround her; that her health and nerves are much shattered; and that therefore she cannot be expected to change

those who are in constant attendance on her like her Equerries, and in this Lord Russell has concurred.

With respect to the Lord Chamberlain, the case (in a different way) is equally important. The Queen cannot appear at her ordinary Court festivities, and requires a Lord Chamberlain of experience and character, who can control the Court and be looked up to by the young and inexperienced Prince and Princess of Wales, and therefore the Queen would wish to retain Lord Sydney if possible.

All the other officers who change are at Lord Derby's disposal; but he must be so good as to communicate with no one, before submitting the name to her, and perhaps Lord Derby would communicate about her Household appointments through General Grey.

Memorandum by the Earl of Derby.

28*th June* 1866.—At a meeting held at Lord Derby's house at 11 o'clock this morning (June 28th) of Members of both Houses of Parliament, of whom a list is in the Queen's possession, Lord Derby stated that he had been honoured by her Majesty's commands to undertake the formation of an Administration; and that her Majesty had graciously permitted him to consult his political friends before giving a decided answer. That he was therefore desirous of ascertaining the opinion of the Meeting how far it was his duty to undertake so serious a responsibility; whether, in the event of his doing so, they recommended that he should attempt to form the Government on an enlarged basis, seeking the co-operation of supporters, and even Members of the late Government, and of those Members of the Liberal party who had seceded from them on the late occasion; and whether, failing to obtain aid from either of these parties, an attempt should be made to form an exclusively Conservative Government. The opinions of all present were delivered succes-

sively; and on the two first questions there was entire unanimity, viz. that Lord Derby could not, without discredit, shrink from the duty imposed upon him; and that it was very desirable to form the Government on an enlarged basis. There was some hesitation on the part of two or three of those present, as to the course to be taken if left without extraneous aid; but the general feeling was that even in that case Lord Derby ought to persevere. The Members present were all aware that some personal sacrifices might be required of many, perhaps of most, of them; but they expressed a general determination to make all personal considerations subordinate to the main object of establishing, on Liberal-Conservative principles, a Government which might obtain the confidence of the Queen and of Parliament, and hold out a prospect of permanency. D.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

In Frogmore Garden, 28*th June* 1866.—Though Lord Derby has written the accompanying Memorandum, I must add a few words more in amplification of what he said. He spoke most kindly of his anxiety to serve me, of his sorrow that I should be put to all this trouble, which he thought could have been prevented, in which I entirely agree; and when he spoke of the *enlarged* basis, he and I both alluded to Lord Clarendon; he mentioned the difficulties with regard to Mr. Disraeli, but described Mr. Disraeli (to whom he spoke) as having handsomely and readily declared that, if Lord Clarendon would forget what had passed, he on his part would do the same and be most ready to do anything he wished.

Lord Derby suggested that Lord Clarendon should himself be asked to name *two* of his colleagues to join the Administration; and instanced the Duke of *Somerset* as one of the most moderate men. He thought my writing to Lord Clarendon and sending the letter through him (Lord Derby) the best thing

to do.[1] He then spoke of other appointments in the Household, and made no objection to Lord Sydney; he wished the Duchess of Wellington should remain; but rather regretted the arrangement respecting the Clerk Marshal and other Equerries, though he saw the necessity for it.

If Lord *Clarendon* should *not accept*, he thought of placing his son, Lord Stanley, at the Foreign Office, who was the only person at all fit for it, as Lord Malmesbury was unable, from his health, again to undertake office. He spoke of Lord Lansdowne and Lord Elcho (though a foolish, vain man) being asked to join the Government. V. R.

P.S.—*One* other thing I must name. I spoke of Belgium, and Lord Derby was as strong about it as the present Government. Its integrity must be maintained and defended.

The Duke of Cambridge to Queen Victoria.

Confidential. GLOUCESTER HOUSE, 28*th June* 1866.

MY DEAR COUSIN,—As it now appears tolerably certain that a new Government is to be formed, I hope I may be permitted to ask you, not to overlook the importance of the War Department in the selection to be made of Secretary of State for War. The present state of the world requires a man of firmness and determination to fill such a post, and one not too much disposed to give way to those sentiments of extreme economy, which are so fatal to nations, when carried to extremes. I cannot tell you how much I feel for you under the present difficult state of affairs, and I rejoice to think that you are yourself near at hand in the present emergency. I remain, my dear Cousin, your most dutiful Cousin, GEORGE.

[1] Both the Queen and Lord Derby wrote to Lord Clarendon, pressing on him to continue in the Foreign Office under Lord Derby. But he declined, saying: "I cannot quit my party, because allegiance to party is the only strong political feeling I have." This correspondence is given in Sir H. Maxwell's *Life of Lord Clarendon*, ch. 22.

Queen Victoria to Earl Russell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28*th June* 1866.—The Queen has delayed answering Lord Russell's letter on the subject of further creations of Peers, till she had referred to former similar occasions and ascertained what had usually been done. She is always sorry not to be able to comply with any request made by Lord Russell, but she cannot find that it has been by any means the usual practice to make fresh Peers on the recommendation of an outgoing Minister, particularly when several had only shortly before been created. It certainly was not done by Sir R. Peel or Lord Aberdeen, nor she thinks by Lord Derby. Considering, therefore, that several Peers have already been created since Lord Palmerston's death, the Queen must ask Lord Russell to limit his recommendation to Lord Monck, who has well deserved the distinction by his administration of Canada. She has no objection to Lord Cremorne's promotion, and approves of Mr. May[1] being made a K.C.B. The Queen also consents to the creation of the Baronetcies recommended by Lord Russell.

General Grey to the Earl of Derby.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 29*th June* 1866.

MY DEAR LORD DERBY,—The Queen desires me to acknowledge your letter, and to say how much she regrets Lord Clarendon's refusal to join your Government. . . .

The Queen also desires me to say that she hopes to see Lords Strathallan, Polwarth, and Raglan, again amongst her Lords in Waiting, though, in mentioning their names, she is far from wishing to interfere with your choice. But amongst the Lords in Waiting in your former Government, these were particularly agreeable to her.

Her Majesty had also intended to mention the

[1] Clerk of the House of Commons, author of *May's Parliamentary Practice.*

case of one of her present Lords in Waiting to you, whom she is very anxious to retain on the same terms that Sir Robert Peel formerly allowed Lord Byron to remain. Lord Torrington has been either in the Queen's or the Prince Consort's service, with a very short intermission, ever since she came to the throne. He was one of those sent to Gotha to accompany the Prince to England, and knowing of how great importance it is to him, in a pecuniary point of view, to retain his situation, she will be very glad if you can allow of his doing so. Of course it would be an understood thing, that he should never vote against your Government; but this she is sure, as it was in the case of Lord Byron, might safely be left to his own sense of what was right. . . . C. GREY.

The Earl of Derby to General Grey.

Private. 23, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, 29*th June* 1866 (11 *p.m.*).

MY DEAR GREY,—I did not send any account by your servant to-day, because I was just in the state, in which I am to a great extent at this moment, in which I was unable to report any substantial progress.

Although my proposal to Lord Clarendon was met by a distinct refusal, I do not think that the offer was made altogether in vain; and I was not at all surprised to receive a similar answer, but in much curter language, from the Duke of Somerset. In fact I had never any expectation of *immediate* co-operation from either of those quarters. I had subsequently interviews, first with Lord Lansdowne,[1] subsequently, in the same interest, with Lord Grosvenor; and, separately, with Lord Shaftesbury. The latter was most cordial; entirely agreed in the necessity of opposing an obstacle to the unchecked

[1] The 4th Marquis, who died suddenly during this crisis, on the 5th July. He was the son of the 3rd Marquis, who had sat in the Cabinets of Lord Grey, Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Palmerston, and the father of the present Marquis, sometime Foreign Secretary and Leader of the House of Lords.

progress of the democratic principle; but, in the first instance, he urged his numerous engagements, with which his acceptance of office would interfere. I pressed upon him that his adhesion to the Government would be the best answer to the allegation that the Conservative Party was indifferent to the case of the "Working Man"; and that the particular office which I proposed to offer him, while it gave him little active employment, would impose on him only the duty of appointing the County Magistrates, which would be very popular in Lancashire. But in answer to my suggestion that he need not even take the duties of the Cabinet, he answered, truly enough, that in that case the effect of his appointment would be lost; and he left me with the assurance that he would carefully consider the case, and give me his answer in two or three hours, which he has as yet not done. I also saw both Lord Lansdowne and Lord Grosvenor. It was impossible to be more cordial than both of them were. Lord Lansdowne's hesitation arose, as he said, and I believe most sincerely, from an idea that he could do the proposed Government more service out of the office than in. I combated this proposition to the best of my ability, and I think that I shook him. He afterwards sent Lord Grosvenor to talk with me; and the result of a long and most friendly conversation was that I offered three seats (of which one in the Cabinet) to the Adullamite party, who were to have a meeting at 10 o'clock to-night, the result of which I am at this moment waiting to receive. Though I have not obtained the amount of active support which I had hoped for, I by no means despair of the ultimate result: but in the course of a very few days I shall be able to ascertain my real position, and to submit it to the Queen for her Majesty's judgment.

The moment that I have the amount of extraneous aid on which I can rely, I shall be able to submit to her Majesty a complete programme for her approval.

I have to thank her Majesty for letting me know

her personal wishes as to the Lords-in-Waiting. I should certainly have submitted to her Majesty the names of the three mentioned, if I were quite sure that Lord Raglan would be willing again to take office. This, however, I will ascertain, and will then send a certain number of names, out of which I shall be happy to recommend those whom her Majesty may prefer. Of course I can make no objection to the retention of Lord Torrington as an extra Lord-in-Waiting, on the terms suggested by her Majesty.

12 *p.m.* I have just seen Lord Grosvenor who has come from a meeting of the Adullamites; the result is that they all decline office, but profess readiness to give "an independent support." I have not heard from Lord Shaftesbury. I confess that my hopes are lower than they have yet been; but if I am still honoured by her Majesty's support I am unwilling to abandon an attempt which I believe in my conscience to be the only hope of maintaining our Constitution on its present basis. Ever yours sincerely, DERBY.

Saturday, 9.30 *a.m.*—Still not a word of answer from Shaftesbury![1]

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

30*th June* 1866.—General Grey with his humble duty, begs to report to your Majesty, that he went up to Town and saw Lord Derby as your Majesty desired. . . .

To General Grey's question whether there was anything that could be done by your Majesty to induce [the Adullamites] to reconsider their decision—that is, by letting them know privately, that your Majesty thought, having been mainly instrumental in defeating the Government, they were almost bound to take part in forming a new one—Lord Derby answered that he thought not, and that for the present he must form his Administration exclusively out of his own party.

[1] Lord Shaftesbury ultimately declined.

General Grey then said that what your Majesty was most anxious for, was that a Government should be formed which would have a fair chance of standing. To this Lord Derby said that, whenever he saw the prospect of an Administration being formed that would have a better prospect of permanence, he would be too happy to give way. But he felt convinced that the idea of some people that a Government under a Whig Premier in the House of Lords, with Lord Stanley as the Leader in the House of Commons, would succeed, was quite erroneous. There were some on both sides of the House who would doubtless like such an arrangement, but a strong party of the Conservatives would certainly object, and no strength would be gained.

He then spoke very unreservedly on the subject of Household arrangements, and with every disposition to meet your Majesty's wishes on all points. General Grey reminded him, with respect to the Clerk Marshal, about which he was inclined at first to feel some hesitation, that till Lord Charles Wellesley was appointed by Sir Robert Peel in 1841, it had not been usually a Parliamentary situation. He was, however, more at a loss respecting the Lord Chamberlain. He did not himself see how Lord Sydney could accept it—to stand quite alone—particularly as it would not do for one of the great Officers to be merely neutral. He must *support* the Government. But he left this to your Majesty to settle with Lord Sydney. He would make no objection if Lord Sydney made none; but he could not ask him to join, with the chance of being refused. He seemed a little anxious to have this matter soon settled, as he could not offer other places till this was arranged, and he begged me if possible to telegraph in a way he would understand if your Majesty left him at liberty to offer it elsewhere. He had thought of Lord Abercorn or Lord Bradford, and gave General Grey afterwards the names of those he would submit for your Majesty to select from, for the different places. . . .

General Grey afterwards saw Lord Halifax, who agreed entirely with Lord Derby that an Administration under a Whig Premier with Lord Stanley leading in the House of Commons would not conciliate such support, as would give a prospect of stability. He then spoke more of what had gone by, and condemned in no measured terms the conduct of the Government, or rather of those by whom the Government had allowed itself to be brought into such a position. He is coming down with his daughter to see General Grey to-morrow forenoon, when he will again speak to him, for their conversation to-day was very hurried.

General Grey saw nobody else; for he thought it better, under present circumstances, to give as little occasion for gossip as possible.

Lord Halifax seemed to think all would depend next Session upon what Lord Derby might propose on Reform. Though from what he (Lord Derby) said to General Grey, of its having destroyed every Government that attempted to settle it, he was under the impression that he was inclined, if he could, to let it alone.

General Grey sends Lord Derby's letter of last night.

Later.—Since General Grey wrote to your Majesty, he has seen the Dean,[1] who says it would be quite impossible for Lord Sydney to do more than engage to be neutral. And this, he says, Lord Sydney himself has all along felt that Lord Derby could not accept in the case of a great Officer of State.

General Grey has therefore written to Lord Derby to say your Majesty would prefer Lord Abercorn.[2]

Queen Victoria to General Grey.

FROGMORE, 30*th June* 1866.—Does General Grey think it would be *possible* for the Queen to say *something* of this kind to Lord Derby, as she *owns* she is

[1] Of Windsor, Dr. Gerald Wellesley.

[2] Ultimately Lord Bradford became Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Abercorn Viceroy of Ireland.

greatly alarmed at Lord Stanley's inability for that office?

"The Queen has the greatest opinion of Lord Stanley's great abilities, but she would wish in *perfect* frankness to ask Lord Derby whether he thinks the *Foreign Office* just the one best suited to him? Has he sufficient knowledge of Continental affairs and foreigners for that very difficult post; and may he not be inclined to go too far in the line of *non*-interference, which might become serious, when matters take a form which would require us in the interests of humanity and Europe in general, to take a prominent part, in conjunction with France, to put a stop to further bloodshed?"

Could she say something of this kind?

Lord Carnarvon would be far the best, the Queen thinks.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

St. James's Square, 1*st July* 1866.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, begs to thank your Majesty for the gracious communication which he has just received; and, speaking with the entire frankness which your Majesty encourages him to use, he does *not* think that the Foreign Office is the one best suited to Lord Stanley; but on the other hand he is satisfied that Lord Stanley is better suited to the Foreign Office than any other person whose services he can command.

It is unfortunate that so few of our public men give much of their attention to foreign affairs; and on the Conservative side especially, there is no one else at this moment whom he could honestly submit for your Majesty's approval. But Lord Stanley is industrious and painstaking; and Lord Clarendon has kindly promised to give him every assistance at the commencement of his career.

Though Lord Stanley would desire, as would Lord Derby also, to keep this country as far as possible from any entanglement in Continental politics, he

is sure that he would never shrink from using the moral influence of England, and especially if in conjunction with France, to stop the effusion of blood, and restore to Europe the blessings of peace. Lord Derby saw the French Ambassador here last night, and was much gratified by the satisfaction which he expressed at the contemplated appointment. Lord Derby fears that your Majesty's messenger may have been detained in consequence of his having been at Church when he arrived.

Lord Derby's Ministry.

First Lord of the Treasury	Earl of Derby.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Chelmsford.
Lord President of the Council	Duke of Buckingham.
Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Malmesbury.
Home Secretary	Spencer H. Walpole.
Foreign Secretary	Lord Stanley.
Colonial Secretary	Earl of Carnarvon.
War Secretary	General Peel.
Indian Secretary	Viscount Cranborne.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Benjamin Disraeli.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Sir John Pakington.
President of the Board of Trade	Sir Stafford Northcote.
President of the Poor Law Board	Gathorne Hardy.
First Commissioner of Works	Lord John Manners.
Chief Secretary for Ireland	Lord Naas.[1]

The King of Saxony to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*] Schönbrunn, 6*th July* 1866.

Most Gracious Cousin,—I cannot resist profiting by the opportunity afforded by the return of Mr. Lumley, to express my heartfelt thanks to your Majesty for the many proofs you have given me of true sisterly sympathy in the hard trials which have fallen on myself and my country. Of this I could never feel a doubt. Your Majesty has from the first approved the policy I have pursued in the Schleswig-Holstein question, which the Prince, your husband, had so much at heart. To stand up for the right with all my strength; to work and to act with true

[1] Lord Naas, who, as Earl of Mayo, was afterwards Viceroy of India, was not admitted to the Cabinet until some weeks after its formation.

devotion for the acts of the Diet and the preservation of the peace of the Confederation, this was the aim I had proposed to myself and which I followed with perseverance. My people unanimously supported my Government, and granted the means of making the preparations, which the call of honour and independence obliged me to demand. My faithful States approved my policy unanimously. My people also appreciated the hard sacrifice I made for them, when an unjust breach of the peace only left me the option, of either making my country the theatre of war, in a vain opposition to superior force, or, at the head of my brave army, to wait for the aid which the Confederation had promised me.

Your Majesty knows that my proposals and votes at Frankfort were always supported by a preponderating majority of the Confederates, that I have always voted in concert with Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hesse, and that it is a perversion of the truth to say that the vote of the 14th must be considered as a declaration of war against Prussia. We voted simply, at that time, for the mobilisation of the four Army Corps which belonged neither to Austria nor Prussia, in order that the Confederation might not be surprised, unprepared, by the threatened war.

History furnishes us with many examples of Princes oppressed and driven out by a powerful neighbour; but it is without example that a Prince, possessing the love of his people, and the unanimous support of his Chambers, so unmistakably pronounced, should be driven, in the midst of profound peace, from house and home, only because he upheld the right, and faithfully fulfilled his duty to the Confederation.

I am writing to your Majesty a few days after the eventful battle of Königgrätz. My army, with my two only sons at its head, has fought bravely, and is as little disheartened as I am myself, notwithstanding its severe losses. My consolation is to know that the sacrifices we have made, were made for our

country, and that I can say with the clearest conscience, that I could not, I ought not, to have acted otherwise than I did.

In the negotiations for peace, the voice of your Majesty will have great weight. I know your Saxon heart. I leave my cause and that of my sorely tried country in your hands, with the fullest confidence that your Government will support the cause of right and justice with its accustomed energy.

The happy family event of yesterday [1] has my most heartfelt good wishes. Your Majesty cannot doubt my sympathy. May the blessing of Heaven rest on the new-married couple! JOHN.

The Duke of Cambridge to Queen Victoria.

GLOUCESTER HOUSE, *7th July* 1866.

MY DEAR COUSIN,— . . . You can easily imagine how my heart bleeds at the accounts from abroad. To see all our old German associations knocked on the head, and our friends and relatives, I may say, scattered to the winds, is indeed a state of things which may make the stoutest heart shudder at the bare thought. My feelings chiefly go with Hanover and the poor Hanoverians. It certainly never entered my head that I should live to see the day when the King of Hanover was to be driven from his Kingdom by his neighbour the King of Prussia, nor would I have believed that my old friends of the Hanoverian Army would have to lay down their arms, after making a most gallant resistance. Such however has taken place, and we must now look the danger in the face. My feelings, as I said before, naturally lean strongly to Hanover, for I cannot forget I was there born, and that our family springs from that old country of our forefathers. I am also next in succession, as far as I understand the Hanoverian Laws, to the King and his son. I should therefore

[1] When Princess Helena and Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein were married in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.

feel most anxious for an early opportunity for some conversation with you on the present state of things, and am most desirous to press upon you my earnest hope, that you will use every endeavour to save my family and the Hanoverian country the disgrace of being thus entirely without right or reason swallowed up by Prussia. I am confident that your feelings in this respect will fully correspond with mine, but you can do much in this matter, whereas I can do little or nothing but entreat of you to give your good offices in the good work.

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Cambridge.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, *8th July* 1866.

MY DEAR GEORGE,—I hasten to thank you for your kind letter received yesterday. . . .

I entirely agree with you respecting the sad and distressing state of Germany, and the extraordinary and unheard-of conduct of Prussia towards Hanover and Saxony. But I fear I can do but little respecting Hanover, beyond expressing my deep interest in its integrity and well-doing. But what I would advise you to do would be to speak strongly to Lord Derby and Lord Stanley on the subject, and point out to them your rightful claims. I hear, however, that there is *no* intention of annexing Hanover.

Later, I hope to see you here, if you will let me know your movements, and pray tell me *when* I can write to dear Mary. She and Franz [1] (who I am very partial to) telegraphed most kindly to Christian and Helena. Nothing can be happier, or more satisfactorily so, than our young couple here are. It is an indescribable comfort and satisfaction to my poor heart, to see this, and to know them safely established in dear old England!

I fear the Austrians must have blundered *dreadfully*, to say the least! It is '59 over again! . . . V. R.

[1] The Duke of Teck.

Prince Ernest Leiningen to Queen Victoria.

COWES, 13*th July* 1866.

DEAREST AUNT,— . . . I have always felt confident the Prussians would win, and I also have felt convinced years ago that the present events would come to pass either by way of revolution or by means of a war. If a great and united Germany is to be the result of the present fighting, the Fatherland's best blood will not have been shed in vain. It always has struck me that a great and powerful German Empire or even a strong Prussia (names matter but little) would be the natural and safest ally of Great Britain. She would never prove a dangerous rival like France, and might be most useful in days of trouble. Pray forgive my taking the liberty of saying all this, but it is my firm belief that Prussia alone can work out the future of Germany, and that there never will be peace till the last small potentate has been mediatised. I remain, dearest Aunt, your most devoted Nephew, ERNEST.

Princess Louis of Hesse to Queen Victoria.

DARMSTADT, 21*st July* 1866.

DEAREST MAMA,—Though no trains go or come, consequently neither letters nor newspapers since we are conquered, we mean to make an attempt of sending this letter by diligence. The Prussians marched in this morning, their bands playing and making as great a demonstration as they could. My parents-in-law were with me at the moment, and my father-in-law walked up and down the room in despair and indignation, in feeling that his home and his country were no more his own ; as the Prussians pay for nothing and demand everything, the place will soon be ruined, the inhabitants here had done so much for their own troops and wounded already. Amongst the Prussians chiefly, and amongst the

other troops, there is but one voice, how beautifully our Hessians fought, with such personal bravery, officers and men; some Prussian Officers said here, *Es ist eine Ehre mit ihren Landsleuten zu kämpfen, sic fechten wie die Löwen.* I would like this to be known in England, for through all ages the Hessians have had the reputation for bravery; we only lost 500 in all, and five officers killed, the others were slightly wounded, but a few badly.

I do not know where dear Louis is now. Please God he is safe, but the anxiety is fearful. I am well, baby too; the wish to get well keeps me up, as I wish to get about again.

We must get the gracious permission of the Prussians for anything we want, we smuggle people with our things with difficulty out of the town, if we wish anything, but the Prussians watch so well, to prevent our communicating with our troops or with anywhere outside, that we are the most complete prisoners. This goes so far, we have difficulty in getting any decent meat, or the common luxuries of life, for the Prussians devour everything, and we can get nothing even from Frankfort. We hope and pray daily that this dreadful existence may soon change, for it is past all bearing, and we are ready to give up everything for the sake of peace, after having suffered so much; and the longer it lasts, the worse it gets. My mother-in-law is exemplary as always, looks out for the wounded and never thinks of herself. From our Army we hear the greatest praise of dear Louis, of whom all are so fond and proud. Now good-bye, dearest Mama, please let brothers and sisters see the letter, if it ever reaches you. I have as yet no news from you since the 9th. Ever your affectionate daughter, ALICE.

Mr. Walpole to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *Tuesday morning*, 1 *a.m.* [24*th July* 1866].—Mr. Walpole presents his humble

duty to your Majesty, and regrets to have to inform your Majesty that the Meeting intended to be held in Hyde Park has led to serious, but not he believes to ill-tempered, disorder.

Sir Richard Mayne [1] has just come down to Mr. Walpole at the House of Commons, and from him Mr. Walpole hears that there was assembled between two and three thousand men, that they failed in procuring admission to the Park through the gates, but that the iron-railings and the stone-work in which those railings were fixed were so weak and insecure that some hundreds of yards of them were thrown down, and the mob by such means obtained an entrance into the Park.

Sir Richard Mayne himself has been struck by a brick—cut on the face: and unfortunately the new road furnished stones and other materials ready at hand for pelting the police. Several persons were struck by brick-bats, and Mr. Walpole is grieved to say that he has heard of one death.

The Park is now quite clear. The mob in the streets were, generally speaking, good-tempered, but the windows in some houses have been broken; Lord Elcho's and Lord Chelmsford's have been specifically mentioned.

Mr. Walpole has desired Sir Richard Mayne to procure for him as full a report as he can furnish by ten or eleven o'clock this morning: and should there be anything material to add to these remarks, Mr. Walpole will take care to submit the same to your Majesty.

Mr. Walpole has only to add that it is with very great pain he has had to make this communication to your Majesty: but he is unable to see that anything has occurred, which could have been avoided; at all events he is confident that every precaution has been taken to do no more than was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the public peace.

[1] The Commissioner of Metropolitan Police.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.[1]

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 26*th July* 1866.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with his humble duty to your Majesty.

All goes well: the House entirely rallies round your Majesty's servants with respect to the Park meetings. The Chancellor of the Exchequer confesses he was a little nervous when he first heard of Mr. Secretary Walpole's movements, but he is bound to say that they appear to be successful. His pathos seems to have melted the multitude, who suppose a Secretary of State, particularly if connected with the Police, must be an ogre.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer informs your Majesty, with great satisfaction, that the vote for the National Memorial, though for a moment menaced, was passed, and passed agreeably.

Queen Victoria to the King of Saxony.
[*Translation.*]

OSBORNE, 28*th July* 1866.—I received some days ago your Majesty's very touching letter of the 6th; and, if I have allowed it to remain so long unanswered, I must beg your Majesty not to attribute it to any want of sympathy for the sad trials to which you and your country have been subjected.

I have indeed felt, till my very heart bleeds, for the affliction that has fallen upon a land to which I am bound by so many ties of the warmest affection; and whatever my Government may feel it in their power to do, to restore peace, and to promote the interests of Germany, will command, your Majesty may be assured, my heartfelt approval.

More, I am afraid, it is not in my power to say.

Before the war broke out, the policy of my Government was anxiously directed towards such steps as might assist in the preservation of peace, while

[1] Several characteristic letters from Mr. Disraeli to the Queen about the proceedings of the House of Commons at this period will be found in the *Life of Disraeli*, vol. iv, ch. 13.

studiously abstaining from such interference as might possibly have involved England in the war, and which, without succeeding in averting it, might have made it more general, and, probably, more disastrous. This policy has been universally approved by the country, and must continue to guide the Government in any further assistance which it must be their desire to give towards the restoration of peace. It is my devout and ardent prayer that this end may be soon attained. . . .

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, 31*st July* 1866.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that, in obedience to the commands contained in your Majesty's gracious letter of the 29th instant, he forwarded a telegraphic message in cypher immediately after the Cabinet yesterday; and requested Mr. Walpole to telegraph to your Majesty the substance of the reports which he might receive in the course of the evening. He forwarded accordingly three several messages; and it must be satisfactory to know that all passed off quietly. The meeting in the Victoria Park was, as had been anticipated, very insignificant; and though that at Islington was numerously attended, it was on the whole very orderly. Hyde Park was comparatively undisturbed.

Referring to the subject of General Grey's letter, written by your Majesty's command yesterday, and also to the observations in your Majesty's letter of the previous day, Lord Derby has communicated with Lord Stanley both verbally and by letter, and has urged him to instruct Lord A. Loftus to represent to the Prussian Government that neither your Majesty nor your Majesty's Government could see without deep pain the utter ruin of a Sovereign so nearly related as is the King of Hanover to your Majesty, and whose dominions are the birthplace of your Majesty's family: and that disclaiming any pretensions to interfere with any right acquired by

successful war, your Majesty's Government earnestly hope that, in dealing with Hanover, the King of Prussia willl exhibit a moderation and forbearance, which will enhance the triumph of his arms. He hopes and believes that Lord Stanley will write to-day in this sense. Lord Derby would humbly submit that in his judgment it would be advisable to abstain from entering into details, which might lead to controversy, especially as to the large sum of money said to have been remitted by the King of Hanover to this country. Lord Derby has great hesitation in giving the opinion which your Majesty does him the honour of asking, as to a personal appeal from your Majesty to the King of Prussia. If it were certain to be favourably received, the object to be gained might perhaps justify such a step; but Lord Derby would greatly regret that your Majesty should condescend to make such an appeal, and endure the mortification of having it rejected!

Lord Derby has the honour to return the copies, which your Majesty was good enough to allow him to see, of the correspondence between your Majesty and the King of Hanover [? Saxony]; and if he may be permitted to say so, nothing can be more admirable than the line which your Majesty has adopted in reply, or the language in which your Majesty's views are expressed.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Walpole.

[*Draft.*]

1*st Aug.* 1866.—The Queen must agree in the opinion expressed by Mr. Walpole.

But it seems to her a very unsatisfactory state of things that the law cannot be maintained, or the undoubted right of the Crown upheld, or the comfort of the people themselves consulted, without the danger of a collision with those who seem determined to set all law and authority at defiance.

She trusts that the result of the consideration

which the Government is giving to this question will be to avert this danger for the future.

Queen Victoria to Lord Stanley.

OSBORNE, *7th Aug.* 1866.—The Queen would be quite ready and glad to see Mr. Flad,[1] if Lord Stanley would bring him here any day, before the 19th, in the hope of being able to put an end to this sad captivity, or at least detention of these unfortunate people.

The Queen knows that Lord Derby spoke in her name to Lord Stanley about Hanover, and she thinks it may be useful for him and Lord Derby to see the answer she wrote to the Duke of Cambridge on the subject.

The Queen thinks it highly important that England should not appear utterly indifferent to what passes in Germany, a country allied in so many ways to her, else the effect would be very injurious to the position and influence of England.

Germany's great wish is to be *united* under the supremacy of Prussia, and not divided into North and South, the result of which would be to throw the latter into the arms of France—than which nothing could be worse.

A strong, united, liberal Germany would be a most useful ally to England.

The Queen will take care to let Lord Stanley see any private intelligence which she may receive, which can throw light on the present state of feeling in Germany.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

OSBORNE, *8th Aug.* 1866.—The Queen has been much alarmed by the telegram from Lord Cowley which she received this morning, in which he says that "France has asked Prussia for the frontier of 1814, and even more"!!

[1] Who was about to undertake a mission to the King of Abyssinia, in order to try to procure the release of the prisoners.

England cannot remain a passive spectator of such proceedings, and the Queen relies on Lord Derby and his Cabinet giving this his immediate and serious consideration.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

10*th Aug.* 1866.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that at a Cabinet held this afternoon it was agreed that Lord Stanley should instruct Lord Cowley to ask for an audience of the Emperor, and express his conviction that there could be no truth in reports which had been circulated that his Imperial Majesty intended not only to demand of Prussia such a rectification of the frontiers as would compensate France for the aggrandisement of Prussia, but that he sought to include in the compensation a portion of Belgian territory. He was to add that it would be very satisfactory to receive His Majesty's personal assurance that he did not contemplate a step which would cause a very painful impression in this country, and which it would be impossible to justify in the eyes of Europe. Lord Stanley would telegraph to that effect this evening. In the meantime your Majesty will see by a telegram received this afternoon that, in answer to the French demand, Prussia has returned a peremptory refusal to recognise any claim on the part of France to territorial compensation. It is therefore to be feared that war is imminent between France and Prussia; for the Emperor can hardly recede from a demand formally made.[1] . . .

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*] HERINGSDORF, 10*th August* 1866.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—The day after I wrote to you darling Fritz arrived. I drove into a wood with the children and met him there. We were much overcome and our feelings were of a most mingled nature, as you can easily understand.

[1] The Emperor did recede. See Introductory Note.

He is looking well, only thinner and perhaps a little older, at least his beard and his serious expression made him appear so. He has gone through a *great* deal, but is as humble and modest about all he has done as possible, which all really good and right-minded men must be.

He thanks you for your dear letter and the enclosure from Ada. No one feels all she says more than he does, but he does not see how he can help the poor Augustenburgs in any way.

About the King of Hanover he has received a letter from Uncle George, and the Grand Duke of Oldenburg comes here to-day to express the same wish.

At this sad time one *must separate* one's *feelings* for one's relations quite from one's *judgment* of *political necessities*, or one would be swayed to and fro on *all sides* by the hopes, wishes and desires expressed by those one would be sorry to grieve; it is one of the consequences resulting from this war. Nothing will or can ever shake Fritz's principles of sound liberalism and justice, but you know by experience that one must proceed in the direction given by the political events which have come to pass.

Those who are now in such precarious positions might have *quite well* foreseen what danger they were running into; *they were told beforehand what they would have to expect*; they *chose* to go with Austria and they now share the sad fate she confers on her Allies. Those who have taken our side or remained neutral are quite unharmed, for example Uncle Ernest, the Duke of Anhalt, the Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg, etc. . . . They all[1] believed the *untrue* statement of Austria about the strength of her own forces, and would not see that Prussia was likely to be victorious, and so the poor things have broken their own necks. Oh, how cruel it is to have one's heart and one's head thus set at right angles!

A *liberal German-feeling* reasonable Prussian Government would have prevented it all! But as it

[1] *I.e.* those who sided with Austria.

was not to be decided *à l'amiable*, as rivers of blood had flowed, and the *sword* decided this contest, the victor *must* make his own terms and they *must* be hard ones for many!

I cannot and will not forget that I am a Prussian, but as such I know it is very difficult to make you, or any other non-German, see how our case lies. We have made *enormous* sacrifices, and the nation expects them not to be in vain.

I fear this is all the answer I can give you at present. . . .

Queen Victoria to Lord Charles FitzRoy.

BALMORAL, 1*st Sept.* 1866.—The Queen felt *too* nervous to tell Lord Charles this evening what she meant, viz.: that *unless* it were a really rainy day, she had made up *her mind* to make the great effort of going for a short while this year to the Gathering.[1] It will be a great effort, and is a thing we always disliked, but she wishes *to do* what *she can*, to appear in public, and *day occasions* are positively the *only ones*, when she *can* do it, without completely knocking herself up. She *hears* that it would give great satisfaction in the country, and the Queen thinks *Prince and Princess* Christian's arrival a good occasion for her doing so. . . .

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

OSTENDE, *ce* 10 *Septembre* 1866.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—Nos courses si nombreuses dans nos provinces m'ont mis dans l'impossibilité de vous écrire mardi dernier. Les populations continuent pourtant à faire à Marie et à moi le PLUS *affectueux accueil et affirment plus que jamais notre indépendance.*

L'Empereur des Français est parfait pour nous. J'espère que sa santé se rétablira.

Quant à Bismarck nous *savons positivement* qu'il

[1] The Highland Gathering at Braemar.

nous *offre continuellement à la France.*[1] Les journaux de Berlin nous attaquent avec beaucoup d'aigreur et sans aucun motif. Tout cela, chère Cousine, pour le moment nous inquiète fort peu.

L'indépendance de la Belgique est fort utile aux Prussiens ; si leur frontière avec la France s'étendait de Strasbourg à Verviers, elle ne tarderait pas à être portée au Rhin. Nos principes et le peu d'étendue de notre territoire font naturellement de nous une nation très-pacifique et qui ne saurait être agressive à personne. Notre presse, qui est libre, parle, il est vrai, de toutes choses, mais elle n'est pas contraire à la Prusse. *L'Indépendance* de Bruxelles, notre plus grand journal, a été très Prussien pendant la guerre ; depuis seulement elle a blâmé les annexions faites sans consulter le vœu des populations.

J'ai cru, chère Cousine, devoir entrer dans tous ces détails afin de vous bien mettre au courant de la situation.

Si Lord Loftus avait l'occasion de dire un jour à Bismarck que l'Angleterre tient à ce que la Prusse soit bien avec la Belgique, ce serait peut-être une bonne chose. C'est, je le sens, un sujet très délicat à aborder à Berlin, car l'initiative devrait pouvoir être attribuée exclusivement à l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre. Si Bismarck soupçonnait que nous nous plaignons de lui il ne s'en raidirait que davantage.

Mais, chère Cousine, je termine enfin ici et je compte bien sur tout l'intérêt que vous nous portez pour excuser cette trop longue lettre.

Je vous baise la main, et suis et reste pour la vie, Votre bien dévoué et affectionné Cousin, LÉOPOLD.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 16*th October* 1866.

DEAR BERTIE,—I yesterday evening, after dinner, received your letter of the preceding day, on the sub-

[1] It was in August of this year that the secret negotiations were in progress between Count Bismarck and M. Benedetti, resulting in the draft of a Treaty by which Prussia consented to a French annexation of Belgium.

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales
1863
From a picture by Henry Weigall.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

ject of your visit to St. Petersburg. That you should like to see Russia, and, above all, to be present at the marriage of dear Alix's sister, and that Dagmar should wish to see her kind brother-in-law's face at so trying a time, I think perfectly natural. I own I do *not* much like the idea. First, I think it is a bad time of the year for you to go there. Secondly, that your visit to St. Petersburg (as you will remember I told you when two years ago you wished to go to Dagmar's marriage with the other Cesarewitch) ought to be for *itself alone*, and not on such an occasion; and thirdly, I think the Government over-rate the importance of it, in a political point of view. These are my reasons against it, and to that I may add another, which, dear Child, you know I have often already alluded to, viz.: your remaining so *little* quiet at home, and always running about. The country, and all of *us*, would like to see you a little more stationary, and therefore I was in hopes that this autumn and winter this would have been the case. However, if you are still very desirous to go now, I will not object to it. . . .

Lord Stanley to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 22*nd Oct.* 1866.—Lord Stanley with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that Baron Brunnow called upon him three or four days ago in reference to the visit of the Prince of Wales to Petersburg, and, after some expressions as to the anxiety of the Emperor of Russia to stand well with England, mentioned that the Emperor would, in his (Baron Brunnow's) belief, be greatly flattered and pleased if he were to receive the Garter from your Majesty.

Lord Stanley mentioned this conversation to Lord Derby, who agrees with him in thinking that such a compliment would not be unsuitable, as showing a disposition, on the part of England, to renew with Russia those cordial relations which were interrupted by the Crimean war.

Lord Stanley accordingly submits this suggestion for your Majesty's consideration.

General Grey to Lord Stanley.

BALMORAL, 23*rd October* 1866.

MY DEAR LORD STANLEY,—The Queen desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, suggesting that the Garter should be sent to the Emperor of Russia, on the occasion of the proposed visit of the Prince of Wales to St. Petersburg.

Her Majesty is sorry not to be able to adopt this suggestion. She desires sincerely that the most friendly relations should exist between England and Russia, and it was in consequence of the representation made by Lord Derby, that the visit of the Prince of Wales would tend towards that object, that her Majesty did not insist on the strong objection which she felt to that visit, at this time of year.

To give the Garter to the Emperor as well, seems to her Majesty quite unnecessary, and would besides be unusual; as her Majesty has never given the Garter to other Sovereigns except when they visited this country, unless they happened to be her Majesty's own near relatives, as in the case of the Kings of the Belgians and of Portugal; or unless there was some special reason for deviating from the ordinary practice, as when, after the Crimean war, her Majesty was advised to bestow the Order on the Sultan, and when she sent it to the King of Denmark, as the father-in-law of the Prince of Wales.

The Emperor of Austria has not got the Order, and the Queen cannot see any reason for treating the Emperor of Russia in a different manner. I remain, yours very truly, C. GREY.

Lord Stanley to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 31*st Oct.* 1866.—Lord Stanley, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that the treaty of peace concluded between Prussia and Saxony, having in effect deprived the latter country

of its independence in foreign affairs—since the Saxon representatives, where they are still maintained, are bound to conform themselves to the Prussian policy, and the King of Saxony is not permitted to appoint diplomatic representatives where they do not now exist—it has become unnecessary to maintain a mission at Dresden. The cost of this mission is about £3,000 a year; the whole of which may be saved to the public. Lord Stanley would therefore submit to your Majesty that the mission should be discontinued: and to this proposal he has the assent of Lord Derby. If your Majesty agrees to this, he will take care that the interests of those now employed shall be considered as far as is possible under the circumstances.[1]

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

St. James's Square, 1*st Nov.* 1866.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, begs that your Majesty will accept his grateful thanks for your Majesty's most gracious letter of the 28th ult.,[2] to which, by your Majesty's permission, he has deferred returning an answer, till he had had an opportunity of conferring with his colleagues on the subject to which it refers. The first meeting of the Cabinet took place on Wednesday last; and the first question which he brought under the consideration of his colleagues was the course to be pursued in reference to the question of Parliamentary Reform. He did not think it expedient to lay before any of your Majesty's servants, except the Chancellor of the Exchequer, your Majesty's letter *in extenso*; but he did not conceal from the Cabinet your Majesty's earnest desire for an early settlement of the question, and, if possible, by your Majesty's present servants: nor the gracious offer

[1] See below, pp. 460, 461.

[2] In this letter, published in full in the *Life of Disraeli*, vol. iv, ch. 13, the Queen urged her Ministers to take up the question of Reform in earnest, with a view to a settlement, and expressed her belief that it never could be settled without compromise between parties, and her readiness to assist Ministers by a personal appeal to the Leaders of Opposition.

which your Majesty made, of the exercise of any personal influence towards coming to an understanding with the principal Members of the late Government, which might lead to a final and amicable settlement of this great question. It will, Lord Derby thinks, be satisfactory to your Majesty to know that it was the *unanimous* opinion of the Cabinet, that whatever might be the difficulties surrounding the question, it could not be ignored, but must be resolutely grappled with. The mode of doing so is under the anxious consideration of your Majesty's servants; and to give time for the matured deliberation the farther discussion has been postponed for a week; but while Lord Derby's colleagues were equally grateful with himself for the offer of interposition so graciously made by your Majesty, and for the proof it afforded of your Majesty's confidence, they were also of opinion that any private communication with any members of the late Government *at the present moment* might be more prejudicial than advantageous; and, without pledging himself as to the ultimate advice which it may be his duty to tender to your Majesty, he thinks he may venture to say that the course likely to be recommended will give ample time for the exercise of any influence which your Majesty may be pleased to exert, towards the settlement of the question, *after* a proposal may have been submitted to Parliament, and when, consequently, there can be no ground for a charge of collusion between the Heads of rival Parties. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th Nov.* 1866.—Before luncheon saw, with Lenchen, Mr. Theodore Martin, the gentleman who Mr. Helps wishes should be entrusted with the *Life*,[1] as General Grey cannot continue it, and Mr. Helps himself has no time. He was too ill to bring Mr. Martin, who is very pleasing, clever, quiet, and *sympathique*. He is also well known to Augusta Stanley.

[1] Of the Prince Consort.

The Emperor of Russia to Queen Victoria.

St. Pétersbourg, *ce* 16/28 *Novembre* 1866.

Madame ma Sœur,—Je ne peux pas laisser partir le Prince de Galles sans exprimer à votre Majesté le véritable plaisir que j'ai eu à faire sa connaissance personnelle. Il a gagné mes plus vives affections, et j'espère qu'il emporte aussi une bonne impression de son séjour parmi nous.

C'est pour moi un motif de satisfaction réelle de voir ces liens de sympathie s'ajouter à ceux de la parenté qui nous unit. Je désire qu'ils créent entre nos enfants les germes d'une amitié solide également profitable pour eux et leur pays. A l'époque si profondément troublée où nous vivons, c'est beaucoup que de pouvoir donner aux intérêts politiques des états les bases des sentiments mutuels d'estime et d'affection de ceux qui les dirigent.

Je remercie cordialement votre Majesté d'avoir autorisé cet espoir en permettant au Prince de Galles de prendre part à nos joies de famille.

Je la prie en même temps de croire aux sentiments de haute considération et d'invariable attachement avec lesquels je suis, Madame ma Sœur, de votre Majesté le bon frère, Alexandre.

General Grey to the Earl of Carnarvon.

[*Copy.*]

Private. Windsor Castle, 15*th November* 1866.

My dear Lord Carnarvon,—The Queen desires me to say that she has seen, in despatches from Sir F[rederick] Bruce, that the United States Government had advanced pretensions, and even asserted a right of interference, as regards the administration of justice in Canada, in the case of the Fenian convicts, which, her Majesty thinks, can hardly be yielded to without loss of dignity on the part of England, and without establishing a most dangerous precedent.

Not having heard from you on the subject of the demand made by the United States on the Colonial

Government, though it has been freely canvassed in the newspapers, her Majesty commands me to express her desire to know what instructions it is proposed to send to Lord Monck, and her hope that no decision will be come to on so important a question, without her Majesty having been made previously acquainted with it.

I have written also to Lord Derby on the subject, by her Majesty's command. C. GREY.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 16*th Nov.* 1866.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that having received at 1 o'clock to-day the letter addressed to him, by your Majesty's command, by General Grey, [he] has only deferred answering it until after the meeting of your Majesty's servants, which was appointed for half past three. Lord Derby fears, from one sentence in General Grey's letter, that your Majesty would have been desirous of being furnished with more information than has been submitted with respect to the proceedings of the Cabinet. He trusts that he need not say that it would be his wish, and that of all his colleagues, to keep your Majesty informed, at the earliest possible moment, as to any question which they were prepared to submit for your Majesty's approval; but the whole of their discussions hitherto have been more or less of a preliminary character, and directed to the preparation, by the several Departments, of the outlines of Bills to be hereafter taken into consideration in detail. A list of these, which Lord Derby has the honour to enclose, will show your Majesty that though many of them are of great importance they are for the most part not of a character to which it was necessary to call your Majesty's immediate attention; nor are any of them at present in a state in which they could be with any advantage submitted to your Majesty.

With regard to Sir F. Bruce's despatches, and the

letter of Mr. Seward with respect to the Fenian prisoners, there is no doubt some ground for uneasiness as to the course which the President may be led to pursue by the exigencies of his position, but Lord Derby entertains a strong opinion that he is not at all desirous of a collision with this country, and that when the elections are over, and the Irish vote no longer of importance, there will be a very marked alteration in the tone of American statesmen. There were certainly one or two expressions in Mr. Seward's letter which were not characterised by the usual courtesy of diplomatic language, and on which, had we been so inclined, we might have fastened a quarrel; but in the request itself there was nothing to which objection could be taken. Had the two prisoners been British subjects, the interference of a Foreign Government would have been inexcusable; but they had both been tried under an Act by which it was set forth in the indictment that they were *American Citizens*: it was therefore in accordance with international rights that Mr. Seward proffered a request, which could not be refused, to be furnished with the record of the trial, in order to satisfy himself that no illegality had been committed, and no injustice done; and the subsequent application for leniency was made as a request, and not as a demand, and in language to which no exception could be taken. Lord Stanley has not yet answered Sir F. Bruce's despatch; and will of course submit it to your Majesty before it is sent out, which will not be till this day week. But before that despatch was sent from Washington Lord Monck had telegraphed to Lord Carnarvon, pressing for remission of the capital sentence, and suggesting a commutation for a term of imprisonment which appeared much too short to meet the justice of the case. Lord Carnarvon telegraphed his answer approving of the prisoners' lives being spared, but desiring that the term of commutation should not be decided, until he should receive full instructions, which have not yet been sent out,

and will not be for another week. The remission of the capital sentence therefore anticipated the application from Mr. Seward, and cannot be attributed to his interference.

Lord Derby trusts that this explanation will satisfy your Majesty, both that there has been no unworthy concession to unwarrantable demands, and that no official despatches have been sent out without being previously submitted for your Majesty's approval. Lord Derby will not fail for the future to keep your Majesty fully informed as to every measure of the least importance on which the Cabinet may have come to any definite conclusion. He thinks that it will not be necessary to detain the members of the Government in London for more than ten days or a fortnight longer; but he proposes that they should meet again early in January to mature the measures of which they are now only preparing the outlines.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Dean Wellesley.*

Windsor Castle, 23*rd Nov.* 1866.—The Queen must write to the Dean upon a subject of the greatest importance, and which she thinks she can no longer remain silent upon.

She yesterday saw her valued friend Dr. Macleod (who came here on business), than whom there is no better, more liberal-minded, or more thoroughly Christian a man, and he told the Queen that he considered this Episcopalian movement in Scotland—countenanced and encouraged, as it was, by the Archbishop of Canterbury—as *most serious*, and indeed *alarming* to the safety of the Church of Scotland. With dissent (the Free Church) on the one side, and this most shameful and openly avowed attempt to try and convert the Presbyterians to Episcopalianism, he does not see how the Established Church *can* stand. They have already succeeded in carrying with them the great bulk of the aristocracy

in Scotland, and therefrom establishing a religion for the rich, and another for the poor, and thus alienating the people from their superiors, and producing a want of sympathy between them.

If it had been *merely* the Episcopalian Church of Scotland, as they are dissenters in Scotland, Dr. Macleod said it would *not* have signified; but when the Archbishop of Canterbury himself came to Scotland, and permits the Bishops to speak of "*the* Church"—implying, as they do, that the *Scotch* establishment is *no* Church, and her Sacraments not to be considered as such, which they openly do—the case becomes *very grave*. Now the Queen takes a solemn engagement, on her accession, to maintain the Established Church of Scotland, and any attempt to subvert it is *contrary* to Law, and indeed subversive of that respect for *existing Institutions* which, above all, the Archbishops and Bishops *ought* to do *everything* to maintain; and she *will* maintain it.

But, quite apart from this, the Queen considers this movement as *most* mischievous. The Presbyterian Church is essentially *Protestant*, and, as such, *most* valuable. The Reformation in this country was *never* fully completed, and had we applied the pruning knife more severely, we should *never* have been exposed to the dangers to which the Church of England is *now* exposed, and for which the Queen thinks it will be *absolutely* necessary to take some measures.

The Queen feels, *more strongly* than words *can* express, the duty which is imposed upon her and her family, to maintain the *true* and *real principles* and *spirit* of the *Protestant* religion; for her family was brought over and placed on the throne of these realms *solely* to maintain it; and the Queen will *not* stand the attempts made to destroy the simple and truly Protestant faith of the Church of Scotland, and to bring the Church of England as near the Church of Rome as they possibly can.

The Queen meditates writing to the Archbishop

of Canterbury, or else asking him to come here, that she may speak to him as strongly as she can. Which of the two does the Dean advise ?

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *25th Nov.* 1866.—Saw Mr. Disraeli after tea, who spoke of the great Reform meeting on the 3rd, also of Reform in general. He said only two Cabinets had been held upon it, that the members were unanimous in agreeing that the subject *must* be dealt with by Resolutions, preparatory to a Commission being issued, so that the matter might be settled irrespective of Party. Then he talked of the army, and of the great importance of having an Army of Reserve, which was dearest Albert's opinion. He was amiable and clever, but is a strange man.

General Grey to the Earl of Derby.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, *28th November* 1866.

MY DEAR LORD DERBY,—The Queen wishes me to call your serious attention to what Lord A. Loftus says in the accompanying letter to Lord Stanley, of the withdrawal of the English Mission from Dresden[1]; and to say how deeply she regrets having consented to it so precipitately.

You will see that the other great Powers, including Prussia herself, maintain their Missions in Saxony, England alone, on whom it would seem more incumbent than on any other to do the same, as the King of Saxony has always been treated by the Queen as head of her *Saxon* family, withdrawing hers !

Could anything be done to soften the sting of this measure to the King of Saxony ? Something, perhaps, of the sort suggested by Lord A. Loftus. The Queen is *very* anxious on the subject—that *something* should be done by us—and whatever that may be, that it should be done *at once*, and she hopes you will kindly give it your best consideration. . . . C. GREY.

[1] See above, pp. 370, 371.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 30*th Nov.* 1866.—A bright morning, though very cold. Shortly before 10 started by train for Wolverhampton, with Lenchen, Louise, Christian, etc. . . .

With a sinking heart and trembling knees got out of the train, amidst great cheering, bands playing, troops presenting arms, etc. Was received by Lord Lichfield, Lord Lieutenant of the County (who presented the Mayor), and Lady Lichfield, looking so young and handsome, who was standing with Lady Waterpark. When we were told all was ready entered our carriages, I driving with my daughters and Christian, with an escort of the 8th Hussars. The postilions wore the Ascot livery. Lord A. Paget and General Grey rode just behind the carriage. All along the three or four miles we drove, the town was beautifully decorated, with flags, wreaths of flowers, and endless kind inscriptions. There were also many arches. It seemed so strange being amongst so many, yet feeling so *alone*, without my beloved husband! Everything so like former great functions, and yet so unlike! I felt much moved, and nearly broke down when I saw the dear name and the following inscriptions—"Honour to the memory of Albert the Good," "the good Prince," "His works follow him," and so many quotations from Tennyson. There were barriers all along, so that there was no overcrowding, and many Volunteers with bands were stationed at different points.

The arrangements on the spot where the statue stood were extremely good and the decorations very pretty. There were high galleries all round, and a covered daïs for me, but the cold wind made it fearfully draughty. The Prayers and Address were both long, and trying to many. I made several very deep curtsies when I got out of the carriage and stepped forward. The enthusiasm was very great.

The Mayor was completely taken by surprise when I knighted him, and seemed quite bewildered, and hardly to understand it when Lord Derby told him. There was some slight delay in the uncovering of the statue, but it [1] fell well and slowly, amidst shouts and the playing of the dear old Coburg March by the band. How I could bear up, I hardly know, but I remained firm throughout. At the conclusion of the ceremony I walked round the statue followed by the children. I had seen it before at Thornycroft's studio, and it is upon the whole good. I spoke to the Bishop of Lichfield, Lord and Lady Lichfield, Lady Waterpark, the Mayoress, who gave me a bouquet, the General, Mr. C. Villiers, the member, etc.

We drove back through quite another, and the poorest, part of the town, which took half an hour. There was not a house that had not got its little decoration; and though we passed through some of the most wretched-looking slums, where the people were all in tatters, and many very Irish-looking, they were most loyal and demonstrative. There was not one unkind look or dissatisfied expression; everyone, without exception, being kind and friendly. Great as the enthusiasm used always to be wherever dearest Albert and I appeared, there was something peculiar and touching in the joy and even emotion with which the people greeted their poor widowed Queen!

Reached Windsor safely at a little before 7, less tired than I should have expected, and very thankful all had gone off so well, and gratified at the love shown me by my people.

Queen Victoria to Dr. Macleod.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 19*th Dec.* 1866.—The Queen has to thank Dr. Macleod very much for his long and

[1] *I.e.* the covering sheet.

interesting letter on the Scotch Church, and wishes to tell him of her interview with the Archbishop.

Her letter to the Dean was shown him and the Queen saw him.

He expressed the greatest concern at having done anything which could cause annoyance to the Queen, or which could have had the effect of injuring the Established Church of Scotland, which was so far from his intentions that he had enquired, before he laid the first stone of the Cathedral at Inverness, whether his doing so would not offend the Presbyterians, but he was assured it would not. He was *quite* innocent and unconscious, he assured the Queen, of the effect produced by this act of his; that he had been asked to do it by an old friend of his, and had thought it a good opportunity of *showing Scotland* to his *daughters*.

Finally the Queen urged him to take an opportunity of stating publicly that he *never had* intended to do anything hostile to the Established Church of Scotland, which he promised to do.

The Queen hears further that all the English Bishops disapproved what the Archbishop (who is a mild and amiable man) had done.

Is there any chance of Dr. Macleod's coming south during the next two months, so that we could see him *here*?

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER VI

For the second year in succession the Queen opened Parliament in person. The principal business proved to be the enactment of a Reform Bill—the first serious development of Parliamentary Reform since the Act of 1832. Ministers began by introducing Resolutions, in the hope that the House of Commons would unite in settling this vexed question, which, said Mr. Disraeli, ought no longer to determine the fate of Cabinets. But the Resolutions, owing to Ministerial dissensions, were too general to satisfy the House, and the production of a Bill was demanded by the Opposition. Two Bills were under the consideration of the Cabinet ; the bolder, which was advocated by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, and which proposed to place the borough franchise on the basis of rating household suffrage, qualified by substantial checks, was apparently accepted by the Cabinet on Saturday, 23rd February. But on the following Monday morning Lord Derby received a letter from Lord Cranborne, stating that, on an examination of statistics, he found he could not assent to the measure. Lord Carnarvon agreed with him. To avoid disruption, a Cabinet Council, hurriedly summoned, resolved to propose to Parliament the less comprehensive Bill under consideration, which provided for a £6 rating franchise for boroughs and a £20 rating franchise for counties. These proposals were met with ridicule and indignation by the Opposition. Moreover, a movement was started in the Conservative party, which culminated in an important gathering in the Carlton Club on the Thursday, to urge Ministers to revert to the larger measure. Accordingly this was done at a Cabinet on Saturday, 2nd March, and Lords Cranborne and Carnarvon resigned, as well as General Peel.

After the general principles of the new Bill had received the sanction of a party meeting, it was introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Disraeli on 18th March. The basis was household suffrage qualified by two years' residence, personal payment of rates, and dual voting, a second vote being given for payment of 20*s*. in direct taxes ; there was also an educational franchise, and a vote could be obtained for £50 in the funds or in the savings bank. The county franchise would be reduced from £50 to £15 rating. The redistribution of seats proposed was moderate and was based on the principle of no absolute disfranchisement of boroughs. Mr. Gladstone violently attacked the measure as both too

wide and too full of checks ; but he found that a large section of the Liberal party were pleased with the principle of household suffrage, and were determined to support the second reading and amend the Bill in Committee. This disposition was confirmed by the peroration of Mr. Disraeli's speech on winding up the second reading debate, in which he affirmed that now was the time to settle the question ; and asked the House to act with the Government cordially and candidly and assist them to carry the measure, promising on their part a complete reciprocity of feeling and a readiness to defer to suggestions consistent with the main object of the Bill. The second reading, in consequence, passed without a division, and attempts made by Mr. Gladstone and his friends on the threshold of the Committee stage to substitute a £5 value for rating household suffrage were signally unsuccessful.

In Committee, where Mr. Disraeli's conduct of the measure, based on the avowed principle of taking the House into co-operation, was singularly adroit, most of the checks on household suffrage were swept away, some by voluntary concession, some by Ministerial defeats in the lobbies. The two years' residence became one year, and the second vote and the " fancy franchises " were given up ; but the principles which Mr. Disraeli had declared to be vital—personal payment of rates, and residence—were maintained throughout, even in the crucial case of the compound householders. The Bill permitted these occupiers, whose landlords paid a composition for rates and charged the amount in the rent, to obtain the vote by assuming personal payment of rates themselves. The desire of the House for a more general enfranchisement of this class was ultimately made effectual by Mr. Disraeli's acceptance of an amendment abolishing the Acts under which compounding was permitted and making the occupier alone responsible for local rates—a decision which was calculated to add half a million voters to the constituency and which was bitterly resented by the Tory extremists. The county franchise was further reduced in Committee to £12 rating. The redistribution of seats proposed in the Bill was also extended ; but the principle of no absolute disfranchisement of boroughs, save for corruption, was maintained. On the third reading the Government was violently attacked by Lord Cranborne, who said there had been a political betrayal without a parallel in our annals, and by Mr. Lowe, who said that we had entered upon an epoch of revolution and must educate

our new masters. The Lords, under the influence of Lord Derby, who said privately that he had "dished the Whigs," and in his place in the House that the measure was "a leap in the dark," made very few alterations, save to provide for a small experiment in the representation of minorities; and the Bill duly became law. It only related to England and Wales; the corresponding measures for Scotland and Ireland were postponed till the next year.

A most important step in the development of the British Empire was taken during the session in the passing of an Act for the confederation of the North American colonies of Great Britain into one "Dominion of Canada." The great European federation, the North German Confederation, was duly constituted this year, with Count Bismarck as the first Federal Chancellor.

The movement in France to obtain some compensation on the eastern frontier, to set off against the increased power of Prussia, caused the Emperor Napoleon to enter into a negotiation with the Dutch Government to purchase Luxemburg—a Grand Duchy which had been a member of the German Bund and still, in spite of the dissolution of the Bund, was garrisoned by Prussian troops, but which was governed by the King of Holland though separated by many miles from the Netherlands. There was for a while dangerous tension between France and Germany; but ultimately both Governments recoiled from pressing the issue to the point of war. France withdrew from the demand for the purchase of Luxemburg, and only required the removal of the Prussian garrison. Lord Stanley, with the aid of a personal letter from Queen Victoria to King William, pressed for this concession at Berlin; and Prince Gortchakoff proposed a conference in London, on the basis of the neutrality of the Grand Duchy, to be guaranteed by the Powers. Prussia gave way; the conference was held in May, and the neutrality was guaranteed.

The Luxemburg question having been settled, the way was open for the attendance of the Sovereigns of the Great Powers at the festival of peace in Paris, the Great Exhibition, to which the Emperor Napoleon had invited them. The Emperor Alexander II of Russia (who was shot at in Paris by a Pole) and King William I of Prussia (along with his Minister, Count Bismarck) came in June, and the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria in October. In the summer came also

the Sultan Abdul Aziz of Turkey, and the Viceroy of Egypt, Ismail Pasha. The Sultan and the Viceroy proceeded from France to England, where both were well received; the Sultan, in particular, was most royally entertained. A naval review was held in his honour at Spithead, where he was the guest of Queen Victoria on board the royal yacht, and received at her Majesty's hands the Order of the Garter.

In the United States there was, throughout 1867, an obstinate struggle in progress between President Johnson and Congress, over the questions arising out of the reconstruction of the South after the war. In Mexico, after the departure of the French troops, the Emperor Maximilian fought a losing campaign against the adherents of Juarez; he was forced to surrender at Queretaro, and, being condemned to death by a Council of War, was shot there on 19th June. The news shocked public opinion in Europe, and was made the occasion of a visit of condolence in August by the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie to the Emperor Francis Joseph, Maximilian's brother, at Salzburg.

A fresh attempt to capture Rome for Italy was made in the autumn by bodies of Italian volunteers, in command of whom Garibaldi, escaping from Caprera, reappeared. In view of the imminent danger to the temporal power of the Pope, the Emperor Napoleon despatched French troops once more to Rome; and the insurrection collapsed with the decisive defeat of Garibaldi on 3rd November at Mentana.

The Fenian conspiracy promoted in the latter part of 1867 a policy of outrage in England, which culminated in two grave crimes—the rescue of two Fenian prisoners from a prison-van in Manchester on 18th September by armed attack, in the course of which Police-Sergeant Brett was killed, and the blowing-up of part of Clerkenwell Prison in London on 13th December. Three men, Allen, Larkin, and Gould, were executed for the Manchester crime; and were at once consecrated as martyrs by Irish Nationalist feeling.

The opening of the Parliamentary Session of 1868 was advanced from the New Year to the November of 1867, in order that Parliament might vote—as it readily did—the money necessary to finance the military expedition, under the command of Sir Robert Napier, which was being organised in India, with a view to rescuing by arms the English prisoners in Abyssinia, whom protracted diplomatic representations had failed to induce King Theodore to release.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Lither Grove
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

CHAPTER VI

1867

General Grey to Lord Stanley.

OSBORNE, *9th January* 1867.

MY DEAR LORD STANLEY,—In returning these letters, the Queen commands me to say, that her Majesty cannot doubt that what Mr. Julian Fane[1] says of the projects supposed to be entertained by Count Bismarck, and certainly by some of the French Ministers, if not by the Emperor himself, with respect to Belgium, must have commanded your special attention.

It is probable, as Mr. Fane says, that these projects have not yet attained anything like a definite shape. But that they still pass at times through the Emperor's mind, as *possible* results to be looked for, cannot, her Majesty imagines, admit of a doubt. And in the present state of feeling in France, where everything seems to show how much the Emperor has lost in public estimation, one cannot shut one's eyes to the possibility (not to say probability) of his attempting, by some such means as the annexation of Belgium, to recover his lost prestige.

It would be unwise at present, perhaps, to imply any distrust of the intentions or loyalty of the Emperor, by assuming the existence of any such projects, or by making them the subject of any official representa-

[1] 1827–1870: 4th son of 11th Earl of Westmorland, Secretary of Embassy at Paris.

tions. But her Majesty trusts that her Ministers both at Paris and Berlin are instructed to keep an anxious watch over the course of events, and to neglect no opportunity in conversation, where the subject might happen to be broached, of letting it be understood, beyond the possibility of mistake, that England will never stand quietly by, or remain a passive spectator of any attempt against the integrity or independence of Belgium. Believe me, yours very truly, C. GREY.

Lord Stanley to General Grey.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 10*th January* 1867.

DEAR GENERAL GREY,—I have this moment received your letter on the subject of Belgium. I have no idea whatever that anything is contemplated against that country by the French Government: nor do I think any such design likely to be entertained, so long as the Belgians are contented, united, and have among them no party desirous of annexation.

I have no doubt that Bismarck (and probably the King of Prussia) would be glad to see Belgium sacrificed, if that act would avert the jealousy so generally felt in France of the increase of German power: and thus save Germany from being involved in war, which, as matters stand, seems a very possible event, though it will not come for the next twelve months, if it comes at all.

I speak of a Franco-German war as a "very possible event," but I do not mean that it seems to be probable. I should say the chances were considerably against it: the French are growing every year a more peace-loving and commercial people: not one of the wars of the second empire has been popular in France: the Emperor himself is neither young nor in good health: and the proposed increase of the army is unpopular in all quarters. Still it is on the cards: and I do not believe that a French invasion of Belgium is, except under circumstances very different from the present. Believe me, very truly yours, STANLEY.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, 10*th Jan.* 1867 (*Thursday night*).—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that, at a meeting of your Majesty's servants held this afternoon in Downing Street, the course to be pursued in respect to the question of Parliamentary Reform was fully discussed, and, subject to your Majesty's approval, finally and unanimously agreed to. Your Majesty's servants are of opinion that it was equally impossible to ignore the question, and, with any prospect of success, to bring forward a Bill, to the provisions of which they, as a Government, should be committed; that there existed in the House elements strong enough to defeat any proposal of any Government, but not sufficiently strong to carry any specific plan; and that it was only by gradually feeling the pulse of the House of Commons, and ascertaining how far a community of opinion might be relied on between the moderate sections of both sides, to the exclusion of the extreme democratic party, that an understanding could be arrived at, leading to an ultimate, and, as far as anything can be, a final settlement of the question. They are therefore agreed that the only mode which offers the prospect of a successful issue, is to proceed in the first instance by way of Resolutions, which should embody the principles on which the future Parliamentary Representation should be founded. These Resolutions, if adopted, will pledge the House not only to *a* Reform, but to a Reform based on such grounds as shall leave all details to be dealt with as matters only of degree; and it will then be the duty of your Majesty's servants to point out to the House the various and important subjects on which Parliament stands in need of farther information before they can really form a judgment as to the practical effect of the new Constituency which they are about to establish. For this purpose, one Resolution will pray your Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission (the com-

position of which must of course be very carefully considered, and which must be selected impartially from both sides of the House) to report upon the probable effect of certain changes in the electoral body, and of alteration of boundaries of boroughs, etc. etc. When this Commission shall have reported, Parliament, having previously agreed upon the main principles, will be prepared to consider the recommendations of such a neutral body as to details, without the party prejudice which would inevitably attach to a specific proposition brought forward by any Government. It is proposed that a reference should be made, in your Majesty's Speech, to the question of Reform as one to which the attention of Parliament should again be called; but in terms which should leave it doubtful whether the intentions of the Government are to proceed by way of Bill or Resolutions; but that, on the earliest possible day, probably on Monday the 11th of February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer should fully state the views and intentions of your Majesty's Government.

Your Majesty was pleased to say that if, by personal communication with the Leaders of the moderate Liberal party, the way might be smoothed to an amicable understanding, your Majesty's servants might depend on such an amount of support; and while, on the one hand, Lord Derby is of opinion that although, until after the opening of Parliament, it is of the utmost importance that nothing should transpire as to the course to be pursued, any influence which your Majesty may be pleased to exercise, after that course has been announced, cannot fail to have the most important results in securing the co-operation of various sections of politicians, or of demonstrating the utter hopelessness of such co-operation being by any means attainable.

Lord Derby is farther encouraged by the gracious message which he received from your Majesty through Princess Christian, to express a very earnest hope that your Majesty may honour your present servants

by making what he well knows will be an effort, and opening their first Parliament in person. Lord Derby would be very unwilling to urge your Majesty, on considerations personal to himself, to do anything which might be painful to your Majesty; but it is a duty from which he cannot shrink, to say that in the public mind your Majesty's presence, or absence, on the present occasion, will produce a most powerful effect (especially when compared with last year) as to your Majesty's personal feeling in reference to the present state of political affairs. He ventures therefore to express an anxious hope that in meeting Parliament with a proposal calculated to offer an honourable basis of union between various, but not widely differing, political parties, your Majesty's present servants may look for that moral support which they would undoubtedly derive, to a great extent, from your Majesty's presence. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

OSBORNE, 12*th Jan.* 1867.—The Queen has received Lord Derby's letter and entirely approves of the course which her Ministers propose to pursue on the important question of Parliamentary Reform. It is the course, as it appears to her, dictated by common sense, and which all who are sincerely desirous of seeing the question settled, and who do not use it as a mere weapon of party warfare, seem to her bound to support.

The Queen trusts that the patriotism of the Leaders of the Liberal Party will induce them to give the proposals of her Government a fair and candid consideration. But Lord Derby and his colleagues may depend, as she has already assured them, on the Queen's using any influence she may possess, to obtain a suspension, at least, of party considerations in an honest and patriotic endeavour to settle this important question. She will, however, take no step till she hears from Lord Derby that the time for doing so has arrived.

After what Lord Derby has said of the importance which her Ministers attach to the moral support which would be afforded to them, particularly as regards this question, by the Queen's opening Parliament in person, she will not hesitate, *great*, *trying*, and *painful* as the exertion will be to her, to comply with the wishes of her Government.

But, in doing so, under the *peculiar* circumstances of the time, the Queen *must* have it *clearly understood* that she is *not* to be expected to do it as a *matter* of *course*, year after year; and she *must* call upon Lord Derby to give her an *assurance*, that, except under a very *pressing* and self-evident necessity, she shall *not* be asked to make a similar exertion next year.[1]

The shock to her nerves and the fatigue of the long journey the Queen cannot over-rate!

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

11 Downing Street, *5th Feb.* 1867.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with his humble duty to your Majesty:

The first night of this critical Session has been most serene—the effect of the Speech from the Throne.

The House was full; but the announcement of great measures and subjects, and the paragraph on Reform, had so influenced and mitigated the spirit of the House, that it was at once apparent that all immediate hostility was out of the question.

Mr. Gladstone did graceful justice to the general character of your Majesty's Speech, and was courteous, and considerate, to the Ministry.

All now depends on Monday next, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer brings forward the Resolutions. Although they could not be debated until, probably, the 4th March, still, in the present state of affairs, it will not be difficult to form an opinion on the probable result, parties not being severely divided, and much communication taking place between individual members.

[1] This assurance was immediately given by Lord Derby.

If Mr. Gladstone be forced to divide against the Resolutions in favour of immediate legislation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinks he would be defeated: and if once the Ministry got a majority on an issue of that importance, it would be like the Indian Bill, all would proceed smoothly and even rapidly. . . .

[*Copy.*] *General Grey to the Earl of Carnarvon.*

Private. WINDSOR CASTLE, *5th February* 1867.

MY DEAR LORD CARNARVON,—The Queen desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter on the subject of the name to be adopted for the new Confederation of the British Provinces in North America.

If it shall be clearly in accordance with the wishes of the people of these Provinces generally, her Majesty can have no possible objection to the adoption of the general name of Canada for them. Her sole desire must be to consult the wishes of her American subjects. But before she is called upon to pronounce definitively as to the name, her Majesty would wish to have more precise information upon this point, and to be assured that her decision would be accepted with general satisfaction. Indeed it seems to her Majesty so important that no mistake should be made in this matter, that she thinks the subject should be previously submitted for the consideration of the Cabinet.

The Queen further desires me to take this opportunity of reminding you that you have not announced Lord Monck's [1] arrival in England, nor taken her pleasure as to the presentation of the Delegates.—C. GREY.

The Earl of Carnarvon to General Grey.

COLONIAL OFFICE, *6th February* 1867.

DEAR GENERAL GREY,—I have received in your letter of this afternoon her Majesty's commands to afford some further information with regard to the

[1] The Governor of Canada.

proposed designation of the British North American Provinces. As regards the wish of the people it is impossible to give an absolutely certain reply. There has never been any vote in the Provinces on the subject. I am only able to communicate with the Delegates, who have been invested with full powers by the Legislatures and Governments of their several Provinces to settle in concert with her Majesty's Government all questions relative to Confederation.

The name of Canada was brought before me at the unanimous wish of the Delegates. It was proposed in their Conference by a representative of one of the Maritime Provinces, and it is felt by the delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to be for the political advantage of the Confederation that it should be known by a name which is at once familiar and important. For this reason they waived any local pretensions that they might otherwise have urged.

It would probably have led to local jealousies and misunderstanding had the question of a name been mooted in the Provinces. In Nova Scotia particularly, where there is some opposition to the scheme, it would have been subject to much misrepresentation. Under these circumstances the Delegates requested me to bring their wish under the attention of the Queen, feeling that her Majesty's approval—should her Majesty approve—would give a sanction that no expression of opinion on their part, however unanimous, could afford.

Before I took her Majesty's pleasure on this point I had consulted the Cabinet.

I regret much to perceive by your letter that the Queen had expected to receive from me the announcement of Lord Monck's arrival in England. It is difficult to know what information her Majesty may care to have; and if I do not send more it is because I fear to overwhelm her Majesty with details: but if I understand that her Majesty desires a fuller statement of the general business of this office, I shall at once make it my duty to provide it.

The Queen will remember that when I submitted to her Majesty the question of the presentation of the Delegates, I represented to her Majesty that it would probably be desirable to allow all details relative to the scheme of Confederation to be first settled. This I hope may within the next few days be accomplished. I had then proposed to myself to take her Majesty's pleasure upon the subject. It is, of course, entirely for her Majesty to determine whether I shall wait for the conclusion of the various questions now pending, before I submit to her Majesty the names of those Delegates to whom her Majesty may be pleased to allow the honour of a presentation.

May I ask you to be good [enough] to submit the explanations which I have now given to her Majesty as you think fit?

I remain, dear General Grey, yours very truly, CARNARVON.

The Earl of Carnarvon to General Grey.

COLONIAL OFFICE, *7th February* 1867.

DEAR GENERAL GREY,—The North American delegates are anxious that the United Provinces should be designated as the "*Dominion* of Canada." It is a new title; but intended on their part as a tribute to the Monarchical principle which they earnestly desire to uphold. I see no objection to the proposal. It will give greater dignity to the commencement of this great scheme and consequently greater self-respect to those who take part in the administration of affairs there. I have spoken to Lord Derby on the subject. But it remains to ascertain whether, assuming the Queen to approve of the name of Canada, her Majesty also approves of this proposed designation of the territory. May I ask you to take the Queen's pleasure upon this point and to let me know?[1] Believe me, yours very truly, CARNARVON.

[1] The Queen approved.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 11*th Feb.* 1867.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer with his humble duty to your Majesty :

The Chancellor proposed to-night the course of the Government respecting Parliamentary Reform. His statement was listened to with interest.

The general feeling of the House may be summed up as that of curiosity. Until the Resolutions have been seen and considered, it would be difficult, and perhaps presumptuous, to foresee the result. The Chancellor, however, is inclined to believe, that the Opposition will be forced to join issue on the Resolutions, and that they will be defeated. In that case, the progress of the Ministry with the question would, with management, be comparatively easy.

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

[? 12*th Feb.* 1867.]—General Grey is afraid that Mr. Disraeli made a great mess of it last night. His speech, as he reads it, was conceived in the most injudicious spirit, going into a perfectly unnecessary history of past Reform Bills, and, rather personally, accusing Lord Russell of having first, in 1859, introduced a Party spirit into discussion on Reform. His explanation of the views of Government respecting the Resolutions themselves was most meagre ; and the Resolutions will now go out to the world without the explanation, that should have accompanied them, of what the intention of Government is, if they are passed. In short, a night, as *The Times* says, has been lost for nothing. Mr. Gladstone's speech was moderate enough, but the question, as to what the Opposition will do, is necessarily left to be answered till the fuller explanation which Mr. Disraeli promises is made next Monday week. No one spoke but Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone, and General Grey does not think it worth your Majesty's while to read

more than the summary of the debate given in *The Times*.[1]

Memorandum by Mr. Disraeli of Audience granted to him by Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, *17th Feb.* 1867 (*Sunday*).—On the preceding day, Saturday the 16th, the Cabinet having been summoned to sanction the definitive propositions to be made on the subject of Parliamentary Reform to the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Monday the 25th instant, General Peel, after the propositions had been unanimously adopted by his colleagues, and after they had been modified in the interval since the preceding Cabinet to meet his views, announced his inability to sanction any reduction of the Borough franchise and his intended resignation in consequence.

The confusion and embarrassment of such a proceeding, at such a moment, were extreme, and as, by a fortunate chance, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had received her Majesty's gracious commands to repair to Osborne on the following day, Lord Derby was of opinion, that it was an occasion to appeal to her Majesty for her aid and influence, and authorised the Chancellor of the Exchequer to confer fully and freely with her Majesty on the subject.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer arrived at Osborne on Sunday the 17th, and had the honour of an audience of her Majesty on the same day at 7 o'clock.[2] . . .

Her Majesty then opened, with great frankness, on the delicate question as to what was to be done in

[1] In consequence of this letter and in reply to Mr. Disraeli's letter of the 11th, her Majesty wrote on the 13th, expressing her regret that there seemed to be a prospect of a party fight instead of a settlement by mutual concession. The greater part of the letter is printed in the *Life of Disraeli*, vol. iv, ch. 14.

[2] Mr. Disraeli described, in the immediately succeeding paragraphs of the Memorandum, how he narrated to the Queen the proceedings in the Cabinet about Reform (which are shortly summarised in the Introductory Note to this chapter); and how the Queen offered to write a letter to General Peel and appeal to his personal devotion to her Majesty. All this portion of the Memorandum, printed from a draft, was published in the *Life of Disraeli*, vol. iv, ch. 14.

case of the General's persistence. What would Lord Derby do? The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, that Lord Derby might, probably, try to obtain some additional strength, and as he was in communication with Lord Grosvenor, might perhaps appeal to him.

Her Majesty did not seem to think, that young men of no official experience, and of no shining abilities, were fitted for such offices as Secretary for War. Her Majesty said that in her present state of health she really had neither inclination nor energy sufficient to educate boys for such offices as War and Admiralty. She did not appear to believe that Lord Grosvenor would accept the office, feeling he was not equal to it. What then? Had Lord Derby none, among his own friends, on whom he could rely? Surely he must have touched on this subject with the Chancellor of the Exchequer?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted some conversation had passed between Lord Derby and himself on this head, though he feared it might be deemed presumption in him to touch upon it to her Majesty, but with her Majesty's permission he would venture to observe that the name of Sir John Pakington had been mentioned, as one qualified for the War Department; official experience, great personal respectability and repute; and power of clear expression in the House.

Her Majesty seemed highly to approve of this suggestion; but such a step would vacate the Admiralty, a department not less important than that of War, and one also in intimate relation with the Sovereign. Had Lord Derby anyone among his colleagues of competent character and experience for such a post?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer suggested the name of Mr. Henry Corry, as one not unworthy of her Majesty's consideration. Mr. Corry, though not an old man, had been forty years in Parliament; had been Sir Robert Peel's Secretary to the Admiralty;

then Lord Derby's; a first-rate administrator, popular in the House, and beloved by the Service, to which he had once belonged; and he could speak.

The Queen highly approved of these names, and, with much feeling, directed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to express to Lord Derby the complete satisfaction which her Majesty experienced at these prospects.[1]

Her Majesty then opened on the greatest question of all: her hope that Lord Derby would not allow the defection of one, or even more of his colleagues to induce him to resign his trust. She expressed her hope and wish, that he would resolve to proceed until the great enterprise in which he had embarked was concluded, for, in her Majesty's opinion, the highest interests of the State were involved in its settlement. Her Majesty thought the time favourable, and the occasion ripe, and believed, from what her Majesty heard, that the opposition would not be of an extreme character. The question, her Majesty repeated, must be settled. There was a lull now, but if the opportunity was not seized, there would be a revival of discord.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer felt justified in assuring her Majesty that Lord Derby was prepared to effect her Majesty's wishes at every sacrifice, and was resolved not to quit the helm until the settlement was concluded.

Her Majesty then, playfully, expressed a hope that there would not be another crisis. It was an incident her Majesty particularly disliked; and then, a crisis always came in May; her Majesty's health required frequent change of air, and she was then absent. Her Majesty had no wish again to be hurried from her Highland home.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer thought he could undertake that there would be no crisis, and then her Majesty graciously dismissed him.

[1] The arrangement suggested, Sir J. Pakington for the War Office and Mr. Corry for the Admiralty, was carried out a fortnight later.

In the evening General Grey received a box from her Majesty, which he opened, and then, beckoning to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they withdrew to the end of the room. The General said, "Here is the Queen's sketch of her letter to General Peel, and her Majesty says it may be shown to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he may suggest any alteration that he likes."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer read the letter twice with deep scrutiny. So much was at stake, that he would not have hesitated in making a criticism, had he deemed it necessary; but the letter appeared to him, both in conception and expression, perfect; and when he returned it to General Grey he said, "On my word as a gentleman, I would not change the dot of an i."

Next morning the Chancellor left Osborne, was obliged to repair to a busy House of Commons immediately on his arrival in Town, but had instantly forwarded the box to General Peel.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer could not reach Lord Derby at his house in St. James's Square until half past nine that evening, and remained with him till midnight.

The next morning, immediately after breakfast, General Peel called on Lord Derby, and withdrew his resignation and expressed his determination to support *any* measure of Reform which Lord Derby might introduce.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

St. James's Square, *25th Feb.* 1867.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty, with unfeigned regret, that the Government has been this day on the point of an ignominious disruption, which, however, has been for the time (and, so far as the ignominy is concerned, permanently) averted. This morning at half past eight Lord Derby received, to his astonishment and consternation, a letter from Lord Cranborne to the effect that, on examining the figures

with regard to the franchise, he could not concur in the decision of the Cabinet as come to on Saturday; and a quarter of an hour later he received a similar communication from Lord Carnarvon, avowedly after consultation with Lord Cranborne. Lord Derby instantly despatched a messenger to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who came down at once; and a summons was sent out for a meeting of your Majesty's Servants at 12.30 to be held here, to avoid publicity. The meeting was one of a most unpleasant character; and, up to a quarter of an hour before Lord Derby had to make his statement to the Conservative Party, he believed that he should have to announce the utter disruption of the Cabinet. Lord Cranborne stood out most pertinaciously; Lord Carnarvon would have followed him, though reluctantly; and General Peel, who had, in deference to your Majesty's wishes, waived his own objections to secure unanimity in the Cabinet, said, not unreasonably, that, if unanimity could not be obtained, he was absolved from his engagement to remain. The somewhat humiliating result was that *at the last moment*, and to prevent a discreditable break-up, the Cabinet was compelled to assent to a measure[1] far less satisfactory and comprehensive than that which had been proposed. Lord Derby met his friends, as had been arranged, immediately after, and avails himself of the interval of an hour before he goes down to the House of Lords, to put your Majesty in possession of the state of the case. He has made his statement, which has been very well received; but the provoking part of the case is that no part of it was so well received by the Conservative Party, as that which referred to the more extensive plan which Lord Derby had contemplated, and thought it right to state to his friends, but which he found it impossible to carry out in its integrity.

[1] This Bill was nicknamed the Ten Minutes Bill, owing to an indiscreet speech of Sir John Pakington's, in which he told his constituents that Ministers had no more than ten minutes to make up their minds as to their course.

Lord Derby trusts that your Majesty will excuse this very hasty statement, written in the only few minutes which he has had at his disposal in the course of the day. But he thought not an hour should be lost in making your Majesty aware of the very critical position of affairs.

General Grey to the Earl of Derby.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 26*th February* 1867.

MY DEAR LORD DERBY,—The Queen, being very much occupied this morning, desires me to say how much she was surprised at the contents of your letter, informing her of the unexpected difficulties raised, she must think so improperly, by some of your colleagues at the last moment.

On a question which has been so long under discussion, and respecting which the nature of the proposals it was agreed to make had been so thoroughly explained, there is little excuse for not having made you acquainted with their feelings at an earlier period. The Queen can now only repeat her anxious hope that the modified measure you have laid before the House may lead to a settlement of this question, a hope which is much encouraged by what the Chancellor of the Exchequer tells her. Her Majesty will also be ready at any time to help in smoothing further difficulties in any way that you think her assistance may be made available. . . .

The Queen will be glad to see you at Buckingham Palace to-morrow at 1 o'clock.—C. GREY.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 26*th Feb.* 1867.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer with his humble duty to your Majesty.

So far as he can form an opinion, there is a general, almost an universal, feeling of annoyance, almost of indignation, among the Conservative benches, that Lord Derby should have been, as it were, forced to surrender

his policy, which no doubt had, alike, all the elements of security, popularity, and permanence.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has had difficulty in preventing gentlemen of great eminence on the Tory side, Sir Matthew Ridley, Sir Lawrence Palk, Mr. Banks Stanhope, for example, from moving in the same sense as that of the supposed policy of Lord Derby.

General Peel and Lord Cranborne have acted in a complete ignorance and misapprehension of the real feeling of the Conservative party and of the country generally, for the Conservative party, though slow, is always accurate in the long run.

The House is agitated and disturbed, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer is still confident that her Majesty will not be disturbed. Lord Derby has troubles awaiting him, but with discretion and firmness they will be overcome, and the solution of the Reform question will be accomplished.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 27*th Feb.* 1867.—Got to Buckingham Palace at half past 12. Saw Lord Derby, who was in terribly low spirits, speaking of the extreme annoyance and worry he had experienced from what had occurred, and that he feared things were still in a very bad state. He found that the altered proposals had been viewed unfavourably by the Liberals, as well as by all his supporters, and they would not be able to carry such a Bill through, without humiliating defeats. I urged that, if that be the case, then he should part with the 3 Ministers who were causing all this trouble, and reproduce the original measure, which would show the country that he was sincere in proposing Reform. Lord Derby answered that this would no doubt be the boldest course to take, but it might entail dissolution ; he would, however, go and see Mr. Disraeli and send him to me in the afternoon.

Before seeing Lord Derby, had received, separately, the four Delegates from Canada, who have come about

the great Confederation of British North America, which will be effected.

Dressed after an early luncheon for the Reception at three. The whole Corps Diplomatique, the Cabinet, the whole Government and Household and their wives and daughters came. Bertie and George C[ambridge] were there.

Saw Mr. Disraeli, who was also much out of spirits, but thought nothing ought to be done in a hurry, and that there should be time given to reflect.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, 28*th Feb.* 1867.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer with his humble duty to your Majesty:

Mr. Horsman, after a meeting at Lord Grosvenor's, has, to-night, given notice that, on the day following the introduction of the Reform Bill by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Horsman will ask leave to introduce another with the same object, and which will recommend a rated and residential house franchise in Boroughs, accompanied with plural voting; that is to say, speaking generally, Lord Derby's original plan.

There was a great meeting of M.P.'s at the Carlton to-day, more than 150; no person in office being invited. There was only one feeling,[1] that Lord Derby ought to be encouraged to fall back on his own policy, and that the measure he seemed forced to introduce was not equal to the occasion.

Sir Alexander Hood, Sir Edward Kerrison, and other country gentlemen of that calibre, have written up from the country this morning in the same vein; saying that the question must be settled, and that there is only one opinion, in the most Conservative circles, that Lord Derby should not have been forced to change his front.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer believes that the Reform question will yet be settled this year; but he

[1] This was the feeling of the majority, but there was a minority in favour of a more moderate measure.

feels quite certain that there will not be a May crisis, and that your Majesty's Highland home will not be disturbed.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, *2nd March* [1867] (6 *p.m.*).—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that, after a Cabinet of more than two hours, it was found absolutely impossible to obtain Lord Cranborne's assent to retracing the unfortunate step taken on Monday last; and that although, if he had given way, both Lord Carnarvon and General Peel would have waived their objections, Lord Carnarvon, most reluctantly, followed Lord Cranborne, and General Peel, finding that unanimity was hopeless, felt that he was absolved from his undertaking to sacrifice his own personal feelings and opinions. Lord Derby is therefore compelled, with deep regret, to place at your Majesty's feet the resignation of these three Ministers; and to ask your Majesty's sanction to his proceeding immediately to make other arrangements, in which he does not anticipate any serious difficulty. The other Members of the Cabinet were perfectly unanimous in their conviction that it was absolutely hopeless to persevere with the scheme announced last week; and that the only chance of success, and that a very fair one, was to adopt the bolder measure to which they had previously assented. As Lord Derby thinks that your Majesty would wish for the earliest information as to the important result of this day's meeting of your Majesty's Servants, he sends this box down by a special messenger.

General Grey to the Earl of Derby.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, *2nd March* 1867 (10 *p.m.*)

MY DEAR LORD DERBY,—The Queen desires me to send back your messenger at once, with the expression of her sincere regret for what has occurred, but with her entire approval of your at once proceeding to fill up the places of the retiring Ministers, and her sanction

for the arrangement you may think it most advisable to make.—C. GREY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 10*th Mar.* 1867.—Poor dear Bertie and Alix's wedding day! What a sad anniversary this time.[1] Wrote to both last night. Service at twelve, at which Mr. Kingsley preached an excellent, simple sermon. Saw Mr. Jenner after luncheon, who had just come from Marlborough House. The night had been quieter, but there were symptoms he disliked. Altogether he is most anxious, and was very gloomy. Walked with Louise to the dear peaceful Mausoleum. Oh! my beloved one is spared all the anguish of the present time!

General Grey to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Draft.*]

Private.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13*th March* 1867.

MY DEAR DISRAELI,—The Queen commands me to thank you for the copy of the proposed Reform Bill, which you have sent her.

Having, by her Majesty's command, separated for her perusal those clauses which deal with the Franchise, and the redistribution of Seats, I am now desired to beg of you to give her Majesty a little further information on one or two points.

Her Majesty observes that you propose to go much further in your reduction of the Borough Franchise than was contemplated last year; and her Majesty can well understand that it would have been difficult to fix any figure lower than that at which the Franchise now stands, which could be defended, with more effect than the present Franchise, on principle. But the Queen cannot shut her eyes to the fact that many most distinguished Members of both parties have expressed

[1] The Princess of Wales had been seriously ill since the middle of February of rheumatic fever. During the illness, on 20th February, Princess Louise, afterwards Princess Royal, was born.

great alarm at the possible consequences of the proposed reduction. Without, therefore, expressing any opinion of her own how far these fears may be justified, her Majesty would be glad to hear from you what you believe to be, approximately, the numbers of the Working Classes that will be added to the Constituencies. She would also desire to know what you think of your prospect of carrying the second Vote to the Payers of Assessed Taxes; and, if carried, what you calculate will be its effect as a counterpoise to mere numbers; and whether you will consider its rejection as fatal to the Bill.

If the Conservative Party, as a body, supports this reduction of the Franchise, her Majesty imagines there will be little doubt of its being carried by a large majority (and she sincerely trusts that there is no danger of the prospect, which this affords, of the question being settled being marred by the Bill breaking down on the second vote). Fierce attacks will inevitably be made upon a Conservative Government for proposing such a measure, but compared with the importance of coming to a settlement of the question this matters very little. Her Majesty, however, anticipates more difficulty in your effecting the redistribution of Seats as you propose it, for here personal interests and jealousies will exercise their full influence. Her Majesty cannot herself form any opinion as to the proposed arrangement. She wishes me, however, to express her regret that the important commercial and seaport towns of Scotland have not come in for their share of consideration; and that they must either be left inadequately represented in comparison with English, and even Irish towns of the same class, or that an inconvenient addition must be made to the total numbers of the House of Commons.

Her Majesty wishes me again to repeat her sincere and anxious hope that this Bill may pass the ordeal of the two Houses in a shape that the Government will accept, and that it may settle this question for many years to come.—C. G.

Mr. Disraeli to General Grey.

11 Downing Street, 15*th March* 1867 (*Friday*).

My dear General,—The principle of the Reform Bill is that the franchise should be founded on Rating, and as no test of value seems at all permanent, and new propositions in respect to it are made every year, we arrived at the conclusion, that we would not connect the Borough Franchise with value, but that it should rest on an occupation alone, rated to the relief of the poor, the ratepayer personally paying the rates. We looked upon these conditions, coupled with an ascertained term of residence, viz. two years, as adequate to secure regularity, and general trustworthiness of life.

The number introduced on these conditions will not be so great as the number proposed last year, and proposed on no principle whatever. The figures are instructive, and I give them from the last and most authentic return of the Poor Law Board.

There are in the Boroughs of England and Wales, 1,367,000 Householders of which 644,000 already are enfranchised. There remain, therefore, 723,000 who have not a vote.

Our proposition, that every householder should have a vote who is rated, and pays his rates, in respect of a house, which he has inhabited for two years, would *qualify* 237,000, of whom, after making the necessary and customary deductions for migratory habits, pauperism, etc., would remain 115,000, which would be our addition to the Constituency, but that Constituency would be founded on a principle.

There would remain 484,000 householders, who are not personally rated, but for whom their landlords pay the rates, compounding with the parishes.

Our principle being that the enjoyment of a public right should depend on the performance of a public duty, and which is the best security for regularity of life, we do not give votes to these compound householders, but we provide that any one of

them who, by virtue of the Small Tenements Act, and other Rating Acts, has his rates paid, or alleged to be paid, by his Landlord, may, by the powers of our measure, claim to be rated and pay his rates, and then he will accede to his constitutional privilege, and be placed on the Parliamentary Register.

So, under our measure, every one of these 700,000 will be *qualified*, or may *qualify* himself, to be a voter.

As there is great, but, I think, unfounded, fear of the numbers that may avail themselves of this privilege (my own opinion is that not 50,000 will ever ultimately avail themselves of the provision) we have proposed that one, and one only, of the new franchises shall have the privilege of a double, or rather second, vote; that is to say, any payer of a certain sum of direct taxation shall be a voter for a borough, but he shall not be disfranchised because he happens to be a householder and also pays rates. He votes therefore in respect of taxes, and of rates.

Lord Derby will not consider this a principle of the Bill; but this must only be known to her Majesty and ourselves; he cannot venture to say *that*, as yet, even to his colleagues; but the course of the debate will prove the wisdom of his determination.

The principle of his measure is *bona fide* Rating, as distinguished from the fluctuating rental or value of all previous measures, and in which there is no settlement.

There has been a meeting of his followers to-day, when he addressed them at great length and with great spirit. There were 240 present, and I was glad to see Lord Cranborne among them. He was silent. Sir William Heathcote was the only person, who at all demurred. Mr. Henley spoke strongly in favour of the measure and produced a great effect. Sir John Trollope, Sir John Walsh, Mr. Banks Stanhope, Mr. Laird of Birkenhead, Mr. Graves of Liverpool, Mr. Kendal of Cornwall, in the same vein. These are all representative men. Mr. Kendal represents the National Club and the high Protestant party. I

think, after this meeting, that it may fairly be held, that Lord Derby's party will support him as a mass.

Lord Grosvenor has communicated confidentially with us, and says, that if our measure be founded on a real and personal rating, residence, and some compensatory arrangement against the possible influx of Compound Householders, either the dual vote, or some other counterpoise, he will answer for himself and his friends, and he believes that there is sufficient to carry the Government through, if their own party stick to them. Our utmost efforts are now given to this end.

With regard to the distribution of seats, our proposition is moderate, and, though we propose to take away one Member from 23 boroughs, still in the scheme of last year these boroughs were totally disfranchised, and so far as we can judge, they seem, on the whole, to think they have made a good bargain.

I do not count at all on the support of the Radicals; the measure has really no spice of democracy. It will be assailed by them as "reactionary" more likely.

I think we shall be able to make a satisfactory arrangement about the Scotch seats, but I found it impossible to mix them up with the English ones. If we have the opportunity, her Majesty may rest assured, that her wishes in this respect shall be well considered and attended to. . . .

General Grey to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Copy.*] St. James's Palace, 18*th March* 1867.

My dear Disraeli,—I have received a letter from the Queen this morning, desiring me to see [you] before [leaving] Town—but as I know how you must be occupied by your preparation for this evening, I think it better to send you a copy of what her Majesty says:

"The Queen is very anxious and nervous about the House of Commons. Could not General Grey speak to Mr. Disraeli in the Queen's name to-morrow morning? and tell him that she thinks he and Lord

Derby ought to bring forward their measure boldly, as a thing they wished and *intended* to carry if possible; not leaving it open to be altered according to the feeling of the moment, whatever alterations they might afterwards be disposed to consent to."

I believe I can tell you that the Second Reading of the Measure will not be opposed.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 18*th Mar.* [1867] (*Monday*).—The Chancellor of the Exchequer with his humble duty to your Majesty.

The ship was launched this evening by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not without success. He scrupulously followed, or endeavoured to follow, your Majesty's instructions.

Mr. Gladstone then rose, and having had the advantage, through Lord Derby's and Sir John Pakington's speeches, of a complete knowledge of the subject, he made the speech which he, otherwise, would have made on the second reading. He never spoke more ably; it was ruthless.

Mr. Lowe, Sir W. Heathcote, and others, excited by his success, all against the bill—and except Mr. Henley, who, however, spoke with great authority, not a word was said for it.

Things looked very black; but, as the evening advanced, they mended. Mr. Roebuck spoke, and with great moderation and good sense, on the folly of allowing any party feeling to throw out the bill. I observed, for the first time, all the independent Liberals cheered him; then, not long after, Mr. Bernal Osborne absolutely said that the Bill ought to be read a second time; although, he added, it would almost seem that Mr. Gladstone did not originally mean that it should be read even a first time—i.e. in Parliamentary language, be ever introduced. This also was cheered, and then a murmur went about the House that "Gladstone had gone too far."

After that everything went right, and the Chancellor

of the Exchequer may even presume to say that he was fortunate in his reply, and rallied the party.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

London, 19*th Mar.* 1867.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He begs to thank your Majesty for the peculiar kindness of your Majesty's letter. It is only, however, what your Majesty's constant goodness might lead him to expect. Lady Granville is deeply touched and pleased by your Majesty's gracious allusion to her. She is in very good health. . . .

Lord Granville is afraid that, in politics, matters are approaching a premature crisis. Mr. Gladstone and most of his late colleagues were sincerely anxious to assist your Majesty's Government in passing a Reform Bill. They thought that it would be for the comfort of your Majesty, for the good of the country, and for the advantage of their party that this should be done. The bill which was first proposed by the Government would have enabled them to do so. They would have passed the second reading, gone into committee, and then introduced amendments which it would have been possible for the Government to accept, and the result would have been a good and moderate measure. Your Majesty's Government, however, withdrew their bill on the ground of a decision taken by a meeting at the Carlton Club; (some of those who were present now deny that any such decision was arrived at). Your Majesty's Government have now introduced a bill to which they must have known it was impossible for the Opposition to agree, and which it is almost impossible to amend. The only alternatives which seem open to the Opposition are, 1. to agree to the Bill as it now stands; 2. to reject it; 3. to pass it as a measure of Household suffrage pure and simple; 4. or to endeavour to induce the Government to substitute another bill, which would be satisfactory to the majority of both sides of the House. The difficulties of each course

are immense. Lord Granville has communicated to Mr. Gladstone your Majesty's wishes. He is deeply impressed with the truth of your Majesty's observations, but does not know in what manner, at the present moment, it would be possible to meet them without an entire disruption of the Liberal party. Lord Granville has tried to show that the difficulty in which all parties are placed is not due to the course of the Opposition this Session.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 21*st Mar.* [1867] (*Thursday*).—The Chancellor of the Exchequer with his humble duty to your Majesty:

At the meeting of the Liberal party to-day, Mr. Gladstone addressed them and gave twelve reasons why the Bill should be thrown out on the second reading. The moment he mentioned this, there was a murmur and scuffling of feet. He started, but continued his address, and spoke with great energy and emphasis, concluding that there never was anything more clear for a party, than their duty and interest to vote against the second reading.

There was revived the same murmur of dissent and disapprobation, and cries of "Bright"—who did not, however, advance.

Then a Mr. Cogan rose and supported Mr. Gladstone's view, and afterwards another (or two) obscure man.

The same disapprobation in the meeting, but singular, that no one rose and expressed their feelings—but continued cries of "Bright."

Then a pause; the cries renewed, and then Mr. Bright came forward. He supported Mr. Gladstone with great fire and fervour; but with the candour and want of tact, which distinguish him, he recognised the feeling of the meeting, and that they were averse to taking the step recommended by Mr. Gladstone. He ended by saying, "If Mr. Disraeli were here he

would say, the Lord has delivered you into my hands." Previously he had shown that, if the House once went into Committee, the Bill must be passed, there would be *cross* voting, and the Government would remain the masters of the situation.

All this from an eye-witness, and may be depended on.

There is a hope this evening, among some of the Liberal party, to regain their lost position, by moving some resolution, after the second reading, and before the Speaker leaves the Chair, declaring that no settlement can be satisfactory, etc., with *personal* rating, and duality of votes. They might rally round this. Personal rating by itself would not do, but, combined with duality, it might pass. Personal rating is really popular in the country.

It comes to this : if the Cabinet will be wise and bold, and relinquish duality on the second reading, and take a bold stand on personal rating, their honour would be saved entirely by that, the Opposition would be completely baffled, the Bill would pass, and the prospect of a strong and permanent Government not impossible. Mr. Bright said to-day the Liberal party would never, perhaps, recover the passing of the Bill.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has felt the pulse of the Cabinet, and brought the matter incidentally before them yesterday morning.

The Duke of Marlborough spoke with much ability on the point, and adjured his colleagues to take the step of necessary boldness. The Duke of Richmond supported him.

Lord Derby did not conceal his feelings. Lord Stanley, Sir S. Northcote, the Duke of Bucks and Mr. Hardy clung to duality, of which they did not approve, as a point of honour. But this, in the present state of affairs, is mere foolishness and euphuism.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has, this afternoon, seen Lord Stanley and Sir S. Northcote, and they are now right. He will see Lord Derby to-

morrow morning. He has no apprehension now except about the Duke of Bucks and Mr. Hardy.

Everything shall be done not to give your Majesty trouble, but everything should be done to pass the Bill, and it may be necessary that the personal authority of your Majesty should be invoked and that the thunder of Olympus should sound!

The Chancellor of the Exchequer will keep your Majesty *au courant* to everything, and he believes it is only with your Majesty's aid, that your Majesty's Ministers can succeed, but he feels persuaded that the business can be done, and everything depends on it.

He humbly apologises for this long report, but he knows your Majesty loves truth and detail, and that your Majesty's inexpressible and unwearied graciousness will pardon him if he has exceeded his duty.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

11 DOWNING STREET, 27*th Mar.* 1867 (*Wednesday morning*).—The Chancellor of the Exchequer with his humble duty to your Majesty.

The bill was read a second time early this morning; a great fact.

The prospect continues hopeful.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 8*th April* 1867.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer with his humble duty to your Majesty.

One of the most important nights since your Majesty's happy accession.

The House of Commons met under the impression that one of those great party fights that decide the fate of Ministries, and sometimes change the fortune of Empires, was about to take place.

On Sunday the authentic rumours were that the Ministry was to be defeated by a majority of, at least, 45.

About noon to-day, there was a whisper that a party revolution was at hand, and about an hour

before the House of Commons met, a body of Members, representing 107 men, and all sections of the Liberal party, waited, by their Chairman and other representatives, on Mr. Gladstone, to inform him that they must decline to support his motion.[1]

Then a collapse perhaps unequalled in party and political history, and the result is your Majesty's Government is not only immensely strengthened, but with no fear of subversion; the bill, in all its good and necessary provisions, safe; and this, in a great degree, nay, mainly, owing to your Majesty's determined support of your Majesty's advisers in their difficult enterprise.

General Grey to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Copy.*]

Private. WINDSOR CASTLE, *9th April* 1867.

MY DEAR DISRAELI,—The Queen desires me to write in her name, to say how much pleased she is by the result of last night's proceedings in the House of Commons.

Her Majesty sincerely trusts that a satisfactory settlement of this question may now be anticipated; and she looks to this with the more confidence, as your last night's success will make further concession easier to you; for her Majesty would not have you to assume, from what happened last night, that a spirit of conciliation, and a readiness to concede (where concession is possible without the abandonment of principle) are less necessary than they have been. A single false movement would unite a large majority against you. In fact, it was, in all probability, the suspicion that Gladstone was seeking the means of destroying the measure altogether, that caused the defection from him; and any want of conciliation on

[1] This was known, in the political language of the day, as the tea-room revolt. The proposal which these Liberals resisted and defeated was that an instruction should be moved, on going into Committee, to substitute a £5 value in place of rating household suffrage as the basis of the borough franchise.

the part of the Government might operate equally injuriously against them.

Your best policy, her Majesty is sure, will be to show moderation in the hour of victory.—C. GREY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 10*th April* 1867.—At three, the King of Denmark[1] came to wish me good-bye, and paid me a short visit. Received him on the staircase, and took him to the Audience Room. He seemed low and unhappy about his daughter. It had been agreed that he and Christian should meet, so at half past three, he, Lenchen, and the others came in, and the King spoke very kindly to Christian, saying that he had had a similar misfortune to his, in losing his dear mother. Christian asked after Alix, and the King went away, shaking hands with him. Am most thankful for this meeting, which must do good.[2]

Queen Victoria to Lord Stanley.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11*th April* 1867.—The Queen has read Lord Cowley's letter giving an account of his conversation with M. de Lavalette[3] and the Emperor, with much interest and not a little alarm. She cannot forget how often the expression has been used of "coming to the assistance of France," in order to get the Emperor out of some scrape into which, as with this Luxemburg affair,[4] he has plunged himself gratuitously and unnecessarily, and that we have

[1] The King and Queen of Denmark had been staying for some time at Marlborough House, where they had been summoned owing to the very serious illness of their daughter, the Princess of Wales. The illness, though still severe, was by 10th April no longer critical; but it lasted for many months, being complicated by a painful affection of the leg; and the Queen of Denmark remained behind with her daughter for some weeks after the King's departure.

[2] The interest of the meeting lay, of course, in the former relations of both men to the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, now by right of conquest a part of Prussia. See Introductory Notes to chs. 2, 3, and 5.

[3] The French Foreign Minister.

[4] See Introductory Note.

seldom acted upon this suggestion without having cause to regret it. Lord Cowley himself, while apparently advocating a repetition of such a policy, admits that he only expects it to arrest war "for a time."

The Queen would therefore urge on Lord Stanley *not* to allow himself to be easily diverted from the policy, which he has hitherto so ably and consistently pursued, of refusing to allow England to be made a party to the personal (for such they are) differences between France and Prussia.

Lord Stanley, if the Queen remembers rightly, has already said that, though England was a party to the Treaties that guarantee the possession of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg to Holland, if the latter Power were willing to abandon her claim to it, England would not feel herself bound to interfere. But even in this view the Queen would remind Lord Stanley that the fortress of Luxemburg was given over to the charge of Prussia at a time when, though France was weak and powerless, the object of the great Powers was to provide a barrier against a possible revival of French ambition at a future time; and we may well pause now, before we concur in recommending the cession of that fortress to France (for to surrender it to the safe keeping of the Grand Ducal troops is the same thing as giving it to France) when France is strong and more likely to pursue an aggressive policy than she has been since the great war. We must not either lose sight of the danger to Belgian independence which *England* is *bound* to maintain, which would necessarily follow the possession of Luxemburg by France. The dismantling of the fortress, if the great Powers will agree to recommend it, as a condition of its evacuation by Prussia, may possibly be a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, but the Queen must again *urge* Lord Stanley to take no new step, and to give no answer to Lord Cowley's suggestion *without* the *full consideration* of the *Cabinet*, to whom she would wish this letter to be shown.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, 12*th April* 1867.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, avails himself of the first moment at which he can hold a pen, to submit to your Majesty his grateful thanks for the kind and gracious interest which your Majesty has been pleased to take in what he hopes he may now call his late attack of gout. . . . He hopes that your Majesty will have approved of the tact and temper with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has conducted the harassing controversy in which he is engaged in the House of Commons; a controversy the more harassing, inasmuch as the disorganised state of the House places the decision of every question in the hands of a certain number of gentlemen, on whose vote it is almost impossible to calculate beforehand, who have little or no concert even among themselves, and who really hardly know what it is that they desire. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13*th April* 1867.—The Queen must commence her letter by expressing her great satisfaction at the majority [1] of last night, and at Lord Derby's near approach to recovery from his severe attack of gout. Mr. Disraeli deserves great praise for the temperate and judicious way in which he has conducted the very difficult discussions in the House of Commons during the past fortnight. Most truly does the Queen hope that the difficulties will all be satisfactorily surmounted for the welfare of the country. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 17*th April* 1867.—After luncheon saw Mr. Van de Weyer, who has just returned from Paris, where there was the greatest excitement against Prussia. France was better prepared than had been

[1] On an important amendment in Committee on the Reform Bill, calculated to substitute Mr. Gladstone's policy for that of the Government, Ministers had a majority of twenty-one.

believed, but from what Leopold[1] in two most anxious letters has written to me the Emperor was very conciliatory and most anxious to meet Prussia halfway, if only she would evacuate the fortress [of Luxemburg]. The Emperor wanted *no* territory. The thing would be to press Prussia, and *we* ought to do that. Leopold was likewise most anxious that it should be *clearly* understood that England would fight for Belgium, if attacked. I promised to do all I could. Leopold had been for a week in Paris.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19*th April* 1867.—The Queen thanks Lord Derby for his kind letter. The expression of his sympathy under the many anxieties which have latterly weighed upon her, is very grateful to her.

The Queen is now most anxious at the danger which appears to be impending over Belgium. She agrees with Lord Derby that, were the Emperor to adopt the *politique de brigand* which Lord Derby characterises justly as "*iniquitous*," and "the other Powers would stand aloof, Belgium would be exposed to inevitable ruin, and England placed in a most painful and humiliating position."

But England *can* only be placed in such a position by her own fault. Though *all* the *other* Powers should stand *aloof*, *England* in such a case MUST NOT stand aloof. She is bound by *every* tie that *can bind* a *Nation* to *assist another*, to stand by Belgium in the hour of need. By the faith of Treaties, by every consideration of honour, and—the Queen puts this last—by every consideration of interest, England MUST show the World that she is *not* prepared to *abdicate* her position as a great Power; that she can, at need, set aside the cold calculations of mere political expediency; and that, if the necessity should unfortunately arise, she is *determined* to fulfil her obligations, and (*even single-handed* if need be) to defend the Independence of Belgium with the whole strength of the British Empire.

[1] Leopold II, King of the Belgians.

But the necessity will *not* arise *if* our language at Paris and Berlin is *firm* and *unequivocal*; if the Emperor and Count Bismarck are given to understand, *beyond* the *possibility* of *mistake*, that if Belgium should be attacked there will be as little delay and hesitation on the part of England in coming to her assistance, as there was in 1826 when Mr. Canning sent off an army to protect Portugal from a threatened attack by Spain.

This question is so serious that the Queen thinks Lord Derby should bring it under the consideration of the Cabinet, to whom the Queen would wish her letter to be shown. She feels *very* strongly on the subject, and will not, if she can help it, be a party to the national disgrace that England would incur, if she stood by passively, while *such* an act of violence as the seizure of Belgian territory by France, was perpetrated.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 22*nd April* 1867.—Wrote my letter to the King of Prussia, urging him to be as conciliatory as France was, and not to let the whole responsibility of a cruel war fall upon Prussia.

23*rd April*.—The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne[1] talked very reassuringly and sensibly, hoping for peace. He said that Bismarck had been encouraging them for months to ask for Luxemburg, saying they would get it without any difficulty! If Prussia would not go out of the fortress, he feared the Emperor would have to fight. The Prince thought that if all the Powers were to urge upon Prussia the propriety of making this small concession to France, Prussia could *not* refuse. The positions of Germany and Luxemburg were altered; the latter was to be neutralised, for France did not want it.

The Earl of Derby to General Grey.

Private.

ROEHAMPTON, 25*th April* 1867.

MY DEAR GREY,—Stanley showed me, two days ago, the copy of the letter which the Queen had addressed

[1] French Ambassador in London.

to the King of Prussia on the Luxemburg question; and I must be permitted to say that in my opinion nothing could be better or more judicious. It was perfectly conciliatory in tone, and at the same time placed before the King, in the clearest possible manner, the point at issue, and the amount of responsibility which his Majesty would incur, should war break out on such a pretext as the occupation of the Garrison of Luxemburg. I greatly fear, however, that even her Majesty's intervention will be unsuccessful. I hope it may be otherwise; but I think Bismarck's absence from his post at this moment looks as if he had made up his mind, and did not intend to enter into any *pourparlers*.

Disraeli showed me some time ago (but in the pressure of larger questions I had overlooked it) a letter from you in which, waiving the question of salary altogether, about which there might be a difficulty, you wished to be recognised as the Queen's Private Secretary. I cannot but think the objection to the appointment the merest pedantry[1]; and if her Majesty desires that a notification of the appointment, subject to that understanding, should be inserted in the Gazette, I will give immediate directions for it.

I had intended, though still very weak, asking that, if her Majesty should require the attendance of a Minister at Windsor on Saturday evening, I might have the honour of waiting on her Majesty; but I am sorry to say that I have to-day a renewed attack of gout, which renders it necessary for me to see my doctor. I hope it is not likely to be anything serious, for I could not afford to be laid up again, at this time, with a second fit. Yours sincerely, DERBY.

General Grey to the Earl of Derby.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 26*th April* 1867.

MY DEAR LORD DERBY,—The most important subject mentioned in your letter is your own health.

[1] See above, ch. 5, pp. 301–304.

The Queen hears with dismay of your being threatened with a second attack of gout, and desires me to say how earnestly she hopes you may escape it. It will, indeed, be most unfortunate if you are laid up when Parliament re-assembles. . . .

The Queen is much pleased at your consent to allow the position of Sir T[homas] Biddulph and myself to be properly defined. We were gazetted, I think, from the Lord Chamberlain's Office; and all that would be required, as it seems to me, would be that some correction of the Gazette as it then appeared should now be made. I enclose a sort of notice which I think would be right.[1]—C. GREY.

General Grey to Lord Stanley.

Private. WINDSOR CASTLE, 26*th April* 1867.

MY DEAR LORD STANLEY,—The Queen had intended writing to you herself, but finds she has so many other letters to write, that she must desire me to do so in her name.

Her Majesty commands me to say that should the hope which Lord Augustus Loftus's telegram of yesterday from Berlin encourages her to entertain, be disappointed, she cannot but share Lord Cowley's fears as to the probable course of events, and entirely agrees with him that England *could* not look on quietly at such proceedings.

If France would join, in case of war, in such a guarantee as Lord Cowley suggests, England should not hesitate to enter into it. But her Majesty fears greatly that this is not likely, if, as has been often suspected, and as Lord Cowley seems himself more than half to suspect, the Emperor has ever contemplated making up his quarrel with Prussia on the basis of a joint spoliation of their neighbours.

[1] The notice of General Grey's appointment as Private Secretary to the Queen, and of Sir Thomas Biddulph's as Keeper of H.M.'s Privy Purse, was duly gazetted before the end of the month.

This possibility, however, only makes it more incumbent, in the Queen's opinion, on her Government, not to allow any doubt to exist as to the course England would pursue in such a case. Her Majesty has already pressed this view upon you more than once. With or without France, she thinks Holland as well as Belgium should be able to reckon confidently on English assistance if unjustly attacked; and it would surely tend to avert the danger, if other Powers knew that such assistance would certainly be afforded. Yours very truly, C. GREY.

Lord Stanley to General Grey.

Private. FOREIGN OFFICE, 27*th April* 1867.

DEAR GENERAL GREY,—I have received your letter of yesterday, and thank you for informing me of her Majesty's views and wishes, which it is my anxious desire to be able to carry out.

A few days will make the state of the case clearer than it now is, and show us how we stand.

The telegram from Berlin seems to imply that there are conditions on which Prussia would not be unwilling to agree to the evacuation. In that case, I hope that the danger of war is averted for the present.

We have a difficult part to play: there never was a time when the English public was more thoroughly bent on incurring no fresh responsibilities for Continental objects; yet it is expected, and reasonably, that we shall do what is in our power to preserve peace.

The difficulty is increased by the impossibility of placing confidence in the Prussian Government. That France desires peace, is, I think, as certain as anything can be in the actual condition of the world. I do not feel the same conviction as to Bismarck; and still less as to the King of Prussia, of whom I hear as being averse to concession, of any kind, on grounds of military honour. But I do not know this certainly, and hope it is not true. Believe me, very truly yours, STANLEY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, *5th May* 1867.—Wrote to Lord Stanley, urging his giving the guarantee,[1] the other Powers being ready to give it, and pointing out that, if he does not, there will be war, and we shall be to blame! There is great alarm about a motion respecting the Compound Householders.[2] Saw Sir J. Pakington (come for the night), who talked of this, and hoped the motion might be met—quite admitting the necessity for Reform being settled.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *6th May* 1867.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He has had a long, and most earnest conversation with Lord Stanley this evening, and has great hopes that the Secretary will accept the proposition of general guarantee. The Chancellor of the Exchequer impressed upon him, that he misconceived public feeling, and that both the House of Commons, the City of London, and Society generally, were in favour of Peace at the price of general guarantee.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has also the gratification to inform your Majesty that his solution of the Compound Householder difficulty[3] was received with great favour by the House, at least, by all independent sections of the Opposition; and the general opinion is, that the Reform Bill is now safe.

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, *7th May* 1867.—General Grey entirely agrees with your Majesty, that Mr. Disraeli is evidently

[1] Of the neutrality of Luxemburg. In the Journal for 8th May, her Majesty notes: "Lord Stanley wrote to Gen. Grey to say he had given way about the guarantee! It was high time, as Prussia was about to arm!"

[2] See Introductory Note to this chapter.

[3] By the acceptance of Mr. Hodgkinson's amendment, which swept away the Small Tenements Acts and other local Acts, and made the occupier alone responsible for local rates.

the directing mind of the Ministry, and that he is the person to whom any representation can now be most effectually made.

General Grey really now hopes confidently, with him, that the real dangers of the Reform Bill are happily surmounted. Nothing can be happier than the manner in which he has turned the danger arising out of the Compound Householders into a positive source of strength; and the arrangement he proposes seems really in itself to be perfectly fair and reasonable.

The fact too that there *was* no breach of the peace last night, will make it difficult to sustain any effective attack against Mr. Walpole.[1] . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, *8th May* 1867.—The Queen rejoices at the good prospects of the Reform Bill, and of peace being maintained.

The Queen wishes to remind Lord Derby of continuing, as he formerly used to do, his habit of reporting what passed in the House of Lords. She sees only by the papers the important decision come to about the Ritualists,[2] which she is very glad of, but would have wished to have been informed of this *before* the debate took place.

The Queen rather regrets that Lord Derby supported a Bill for the increase of Bishops, which she does *not* think desirable.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, *22nd May* 1867.

DEAREST BERTIE,—These lines will be given you on my birthday with the Insignia of the *Order of the Thistle*, which I know you wished much to have, and

[1] The reference is to a Reform demonstration in Hyde Park. Mr. Walpole, whose nerve had been affected by the Reform riots, resigned the Home Office on 9th May, but remained a member of the Cabinet without portfolio.

[2] To appoint a Royal Commission on the Rubrics of the Church.

which therefore I wished to give you on my poor old sad *birthday*—once so happy and bright. I hope it will be quite a surprise to you.

I mean to give dear Arthur, who is now 17, the *Garter* on the same day.[1]

I would also have given *Affie* the Office of Constable of the Round Tower, but as *his* home is not *properly* in England, and the income is of no *consequence* to him, I shall give it to poor Victor,[2] and would ask you to tell it him in my name, saying to him at the same time, that I thought he ought now to be very prudent and *not* to embark in *any* speculation. You should *impress* this strongly upon him.

As Lenchen and Christian live at Frogmore, I mean to make Christian Ranger of Windsor Park, which will give him some pleasant occupation and be a help to General Seymour. But it will make no difference *whatever* as to the shooting which remains entirely in my hands and under my direction. . . .—V. R.

Lord Stanley to General Grey.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 22*nd May* 1867.

DEAR GENERAL GREY,—I forward, in continuation of my letter of this morning, a telegram which the Turkish Ambassador has left in my hands since I wrote, announcing the intended visit of the Sultan.

I have of course said in reply that I would place it at once in her Majesty's hands.

This visit will be memorable as the first which any Sovereign of the Turkish empire has ever paid to the capitals of the West. It may also have important political results.

English influence is at present greater than that of any other Power at Constantinople. To maintain it is important.

The reception which will be given to the Sultan

[1] The Queen had notified Lord Derby on 18th May of her intention to confer the Thistle on the Prince of Wales and the Garter on Prince Arthur.

[2] Prince Victor Hohenlohe, the Queen's nephew.

[in France] will no doubt be of a kind to flatter him, and impress on his mind both the magnificence of the French Empire, and the friendly disposition of the Emperor.[1]

It is desirable that no impression of an opposite kind should be produced by his reception here.

I submit these considerations respectfully to her Majesty. I scarcely like to offer suggestions of detail: yet the question of where and how he is to be entertained is one which must be considered, and upon which I may venture to write again hereafter. Believe me, very truly yours, STANLEY.

General Grey to Lord Stanley.

Private. BALMORAL, *25th May* 1867.

MY DEAR LORD STANLEY,—The Queen desires me to say that she will be ready to offer the Sultan a residence in Buckingham Palace during his stay in England, with such a reception and attendance there as it becomes the dignity of this country to afford. But her Majesty wishes it to be understood that she cannot hasten her return from Scotland, where she is gone for rest and quiet absolutely necessary for her health, on account of this visit; and she thinks that, as the Sultan is to be thus received on public grounds, it will be only just that the Government should assist, at least, in defraying the expense of his entertainment. . . . Believe me, yours very truly, C. GREY.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, *3rd June* 1867.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that he has been honoured this morning by a visit from the Prince of Wales, who has expressed in strong terms his regret that it has not been found possible to invite the Emperor of Russia to come over to this country

[1] There was in Paris this year an International Exhibition to which the Emperor Napoleon invited the principal Crowned Heads. See Introductory Note.

from Paris, if only for two or three days. His Royal Highness is fully aware that this could not now be done, both on account of your Majesty's absence in Scotland, and of the necessary limitation of his Imperial Majesty's stay in the West of Europe to Monday next. But his Royal Highness cannot but bear in mind the friendly and magnificent reception which he met with on his late visit to Russia; and on personal grounds would deeply regret that occasion should not be taken of his Imperial Majesty's near neighbourhood to our shores to show him some mark of attention. His Royal Highness urges also, and in this Lord Derby cannot but express his entire concurrence, that a very unfavourable impression may be produced on his Imperial Majesty's mind by the contrast between the flattering reception which he will undoubtedly meet with at Paris, and the total absence of any recognition from this country.

In submitting this question to your Majesty's consideration, Lord Derby would not have brought the Prince of Wales's name so prominently forward, if it had not been his Royal Highness's particular wish that your Majesty should be aware of the strong feeling which he entertained upon it, and his anxious desire that something should be done to do away with the unpleasant feelings which might be produced by an appearance of entire neglect. That, no doubt, which would be most gratifying to the Emperor himself would be conferring upon him the Order of the Garter, which he understands was conferred by your Majesty on the late Sultan. Lord Derby is aware that your Majesty declined compliance with the Prince's wishes in this respect at the time of his visit to Petersburg, partly, though not exclusively, on the ground that the then relations between Russia and Austria would render it inexpedient to draw a distinction between them; but Lord Derby would humbly submit that *this* objection might be met by a similar honour being conferred on the Emperor of Austria on the occasion of his visit to Paris. The offer to

both might be accompanied by an expression of your Majesty's regret that absence in the Highlands on the score of health, and, in the case of the Emperor of Russia, the shortness of his possible stay out of his own dominions, made it impossible for your Majesty to offer them the hospitality of this country. Lord Derby feels that the decision of the question rests entirely with your Majesty; but he cannot conceal the expression of his own opinion that, if your Majesty's objections could be overcome, so far especially as the Emperor of Russia is concerned, such a mark of your Majesty's regard would not only be a politic act, highly gratifying to the Emperor, but that it would be favourably looked on in this country. Should this however be impossible, Lord Derby would suggest that at least such a message as he has above intimated should be sent to his Imperial Majesty before he leaves Paris, and he need not add that it would be more highly appreciated if it were in the form of an autograph letter from your Majesty.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

Balmoral, *5th June* 1867.—The Queen has received Lord Derby's letter of the 3rd, relative to the Emperor of Russia. Lord Derby is fully aware of her objections to the Garter being conferred on him on the occasion of the Prince of Wales's visit to St. Petersburg, and she need therefore not repeat them. But the political reasons which Lord Derby adduces, in favour of this decision being now altered, the Queen thinks very valid, and, if the Emperor of Austria were likewise to receive the Garter, the Queen would waive her objections.[1] The Queen has, however, never *written* an autograph letter on these occasions, except to *near* relations; she did not do so to the King of Denmark, or to the Sultan or to the Grand Duke of Hesse. But she will nevertheless do so if it is wished.

The Queen, however, does *not* wish to say that *her*

[1] The Garter was given to both Emperors.

absence in *Scotland prevents* her *inviting* the Emperor of Russia over to England. This has *never* been done *before*. *We never invited* any Sovereign to visit us, except the late King of Prussia, when we asked him to stand Sponsor to the Prince of Wales. *All* the other Sovereigns who came to England *proposed themselves* to do so. And, if it was *not* done in those days, when the beloved Prince could assist the Queen in entertaining these Royal personages (the expense, fatigue, and inconvenience being *very considerable*), how much *less reason* is there to do *so now*, when, with the *best intentions*, the Queen is UTTERLY *incapable* (overwhelmed with work, and the responsibility of her arduous position, in which she is naturally unaided) of entertaining any Royal personage as she would *wish* to do, except those who are very nearly related to her, and for whom she need not alter her mode of life! The Queen *feels* compelled to take *as much* care of her health as she can, and *quiet* is the principal thing she requires. . . .

General Grey to the Earl of Derby.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, *9th June* 1867.

MY DEAR LORD DERBY,— . . . As regards the Sultan, the Queen thinks the best thing to do, if you have ships enough at home to make it really imposing, would be to give him a Naval Review at Spithead. His hobby is said to be the Navy, and such a Review and an inspection of Portsmouth Dockyard would interest him probably more than anything else.[1]

Her Majesty would be at Osborne, and, unless the weather was very bad, would come out in the Yacht, and receive a visit from the Sultan on board—or he could come up and pay a morning visit at Osborne. A passing visit of this sort would be the most agreeable to all parties, as he is said not to be able to speak a word of anything but Turkish!

[1] Lord Derby, in replying on 11th June, wrote: "I am happy to say that we have anticipated her Majesty's wishes on the subject of a Naval Review for the Sultan; and Mr. Corry assures us that he can get together, with little difficulty or expense, a very imposing squadron."

Her Majesty will be glad to hear what you think of this idea.—C. GREY.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 17*th June* 1867.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer with his humble duty to your Majesty.

This has been a very remarkable day. For more than ten days it has been known by the Government, though most strictly and secretly arranged, that an attack, contemplated as fatal, would be made on the Reform Bill.

It was a *conspiration des salons*, but powerfully equipped. When all was ripe, *The Times* thundered.

The issue decided on, which, if successful, would have entirely subverted the Government plan of redistribution, was popular and plausible: merely to give a few Members to a few great towns.[1]

It was an affair of Inkermann, and, for a moment, the result seemed doubtful, though the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the grey of the morning dispersed, and the position of the assailants developed, never lost heart.

The Ladies' Gallery was full of fascinating conspirators; all the stormy petrels of politics, all the statesmen out of place, revisited the House of Commons, and hovered about the Peers' tribune; Mr. Gladstone spoke with former fire; Mr. Bright warned us with mild denunciation, and Lord Cranborne denounced.

But your Majesty's Government was in a majority of eight!—and though that figure may seem small, it represents a much greater force than it indicates; for all the other issues of the combined attack were at once given up.

[1] It was an amendment by Mr. Laing to add a third member for the largest towns. Mr. Disraeli subsequently agreed to a compromise by which Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds were each given a third member, the seats being obtained by withdrawing new boroughs from the schedule.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 21*st June* 1867.—At half past five drove in the open carriage and four [from Buckingham Palace], through the densely crowded Park to Kensington Palace, to see dear Mary Teck. It seemed so strange to drive into the old court-yard and to get out at the door, the very knockers of which were old friends. My dear old home, how many memories it evoked walking through the well-known rooms! Franz received me at the door, and we went up to the top of the house, where I lived the last two years; and here, in the former bedroom, in which Mama and I slept, I found dear Mary, Aunt Cambridge, and the baby [1]—a very fine one, with pretty little features and a quantity of hair. It is to be called Agnes Augusta Victoria Mary Louise Olga Pauline Claudine; Agnes after Franz's grandmother and Claudine after his mother, Augusta after Aunt Cambridge and Augusta Strelitz, and Victoria after me. I am to be one of the godparents. Franz and Augusta showed me, in going away, the rooms which were our drawing-rooms and are their living-rooms.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22*nd June* 1867.—The Queen is grieved to say that she can find *no* letter to Prince Alfred on the subject of his hoisting the Royal Standard. But she knows perfectly well what she said to him, which she therefore repeats here for the information of the Admiralty. The Queen said, that he went in command of the *Galatea* as a Captain in her Navy and *not* as a Prince; that therefore he must not hoist the Royal Standard *in general*, and never when in the presence of his Admiral or of any superior Officer; but merely when he *landed as a Prince*, and when he was in any Port, where *no* other superior Officer was

[1] The present Queen, born 27th May. The names were eventually given in a different order—namely, Victoria Mary Augusta Louise Olga Pauline Claudine Agnes; and her Majesty was known in her girlhood as Princess May.

at that time present in command of any other ship. Prince Alfred seemed *entirely to understand this*, and the Queen therefore (which she now much regrets) did *not* write it to him. The Admiralty must make no difference in their treatment of her Son, if he does not conform to what every other Captain on duty must do, to the regulations established in the Navy.

Queen Victoria to Lord Charles FitzRoy.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *26th June* 1867.—Lord Charles FitzRoy having always been so kind to the Queen in all that concerns her convenience and comfort, and having only *lately* informed her that the Duke of Beaufort so completely understood her wishes and entered into her feelings respecting her faithful Brown, and having also told her last year that people quite understood his going as *an upper servant with her carriage*, and he (Lord Charles) thinking there should be *no* difference in London to the country, and moreover having taken him everywhere *with her* for *two years* on public as well as private occasions, she is much astonished and shocked at an attempt being made by some people to prevent her faithful servant going with her to the *Review*[1] in Hyde Park, thereby making the poor, nervous, shaken Queen, who is so accustomed to his watchful care and intelligence, terribly nervous and uncomfortable. Whatever can be done, the Queen does not know on *this* occasion, or what it all means she does *not* know; but she would be very glad if Lord Charles could come down to-morrow morning any time *before* luncheon, that she may have some conversation with him on this subject, not so much with a view as to what *can* be done on this occasion, but as to what can be done for the *future* to prevent her being teased and plagued with the interference of others, and moreover to make it *completely understood once* and *for all* that her *Upper Highland servant* (whether

[1] The Review was countermanded, owing to the news of the Emperor Maximilian's death.

it be Brown or another, in case he should *be ill*, replaces him) belongs to her *outdoor* attendants on State as well as private occasions. The Queen will not be dictated to, or *made* to *alter* what she has found to answer for her comfort, and looks to her gentlemen and especially her Equerries setting *this right* for the future, *whatever* may be done on this single occasion.

If, when Lord Charles arrives, he would *first* go to Countess Blücher, he will hear from her what has passed.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *25th June* 1867.—The Queen has not troubled Lord Derby with many observations during the past discussions on the Reform Bill. He knows how anxious she is that this dangerous question should be set at rest, in a manner likely to prevent its being further agitated for many years at least to come!

But Lord Derby will not argue from the Queen's silence that she has not observed the progress of the measure with the deepest interest, and, she must acknowledge, not a little anxiety. He is also aware that she has had so little knowledge beforehand of what it was intended to propose, and the decisions of the House of Commons have been taken so suddenly and so unexpectedly, that there has been no opportunity for her to make any remarks at a time when they could have any effect. Nor does the Queen wish now to say anything that can embarrass the Government. She feels that it is impossible to recede from whatever concessions to popular feeling the Government has already made. All she would *earnestly* urge upon Lord Derby, is, to allow any amendments which may be proposed in the House of Lords, with a view to avert the danger which many people apprehend from the great increase of democratic power, to receive a fair consideration from the Government. She cannot believe that, even in the House of Commons, some modification of a measure, which even the most

advanced Liberals regard with some degree of alarm, would not be willingly accepted.

The Queen earnestly prays that the result of the deliberations of the two Houses may yet be the adoption of a measure likely to settle the question on a safe and constitutional basis.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

St. James's Square, *26th June* 1867.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt, on his return from the House of Lords last night, of your Majesty's gracious communication of yesterday. Lord Derby is very sensible of the forbearance which your Majesty has exercised so indulgently towards your Servants, in abstaining from comments upon the various alterations in detail which have been adopted in the House of Commons during the progress of the Reform Bill. Some of these alterations have, Lord Derby thinks, been accepted without sufficient discussion ; and some of them even without the possibility of a previous consultation with himself, and his colleagues in the House of Lords. But such has been the inevitable consequence of the endeavour to carry a measure of such vast importance, and such difficulty, by an Administration which is unable to *command* a majority in the House. Yet it is, as your Majesty most justly observes, of vital importance that this " dangerous " question should be set at rest in a manner likely to prevent its being further agitated for many years to come. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has had therefore a most arduous responsibility imposed upon him, of judging what amendment would be looked upon as fatal to the Bill, and therefore justifying the extreme measure of its abandonment with all the consequences ; and what might be accepted rather than expose the Government to the risk of defeat on questions of minor, and yet not unimportant, interest. On the whole, although one or two provisions have been inserted which Lord Derby would rather have seen

omitted, he is inclined to hope that, as a whole, the arrangement which has been hitherto made, may be looked on as satisfactory; and on Monday last, in particular, the Government were successful in three several divisions, in resisting motions which would have acted in favour of the advanced Liberal views.

Lord Derby fears, and he hears that Mr. Gladstone asserts, that the Bill cannot be before the House of Lords before the 21st of next month—a period which affords much less time than would be desirable for the discussion, in full Houses, of a measure of such vast importance. But Lord Derby is so far from dissenting from the hope expressed by your Majesty, that a fair consideration may be given to any amendment moved in the House of Lords, that he is most anxious that the subject should there undergo the most careful examination. Your Majesty, however, will not fail to see that it will require very nice judgment to decide what amendments, if pressed, it may be possible to accede to, without running the risk of their rejection by the House of Commons, and consequent loss of the Bill; or, on the other hand, if carried in a thin House, and at the very end of the Session, laying the ground for future agitation and discontent. Lord Derby looks with the deepest anxiety to the responsibility which will thus be thrown upon him. He will endeavour to discharge his duty to the best of his judgment; and, if he should fail, can only throw himself upon that indulgence on your Majesty's part which he has already so often experienced. One of the great difficulties with which your Majesty's Servants have had to contend in the House of Commons, has been the impossibility of conferring, confidentially, with anyone who was able to speak in the name of the Opposition generally. This may possibly not be the case in the House of Lords; and in that case your Majesty may depend on Lord Derby's readiness to meet any propositions not made in a hostile tone, and with the intention of defeating the Bill, in the most fair and conciliatory spirit. . . .

The King of Prussia to the Queen of Prussia.[1]

[*Abstract.—Translation.*]

26*th June* 1867.—As I did not see you before your departure for England, I write to you to-day on what appears to me to be most important. We are now in the midst of great recollections of the past year. Who could have expected that the Danish question would lead to what it has led ? . . .

As early as '48 and '49 blood had been shed in the war for the Duchies and the Treaty of London was intended to settle the question. The conditions of that treaty not being fulfilled by Denmark, she was from the year '50 threatened with execution, which for six years was put off by Austria, when new complications occurred by which Denmark clearly placed herself in the wrong. Then Austria allied herself with us in order to carry out the execution, if Saxony and Hanover should prove unable to carry it out themselves. In doing so Austria was led by the idea that she could not allow Prussia to act alone, while on the other hand the alliance was necessary to prevent the interference of the other great Powers. During the joint occupation of the Duchies it soon became evident that Austria's game was not an open one in regard to Prussia, but that she considered this new ground a favourable one for her inveterate jealousy. This policy of Austria could not but place Prussia in a false position in Europe, the more so as the state of things at home demanded from us the restitution of a Conservative policy. The hatred against Prussia was purposely excited *in* and *out* of Germany, and Austria considered the ground sufficiently prepared for a war by which Prussia must needs suffer, and in the winter of '65–'66 she began to provoke the Prussian Government in every way. Being convinced that we should find no ally, she tried at the last moment to force us into a retreat. . . .

You know well what conflicts of conscience I had

[1] Who was on a visit to Queen Victoria.

to go through before I could believe in the possibility of *this* war and how I tried every means of preventing it. It was not till I saw that the honour of Prussia was at stake, and when all doubts about Austria's intentions were removed, that I considered it my duty to break the dualism of Germany by the force of arms.

With all means at my command I began the dreadful conflict. My people understood that their very existence was at stake, and what they have done the world knows.

God's counsels decided in favour of us. Beyond all human expectations a war, such as has not been known in military history, led in a few weeks to the solution of the question, who henceforth should be called to act *with* and *for* Germany.

Now after a year has elapsed Prussia stands at the end of the first period of her new history. She sees herself in the midst of the difficult task of finding the constitutional line between the interests of the annexed countries and of the States included in the new confederation on the one hand, and the rights of the old Prussian Monarchy on the other. On the 1st of July, 30 millions of Germans will have the same constitution which will guarantee their independence within and without. As this success has been great, so must also the difficulties which it has produced, and in course of time will still produce, be great. For, in spite of the decided aversion of the King to the removal of the old dynasties, their own faults were the cause that their rights had to be set aside, and that the private claims of their respective families can only be settled by private transactions, and upon mutual agreement. Before the war broke out the King had already seriously warned the Governments of the now annexed countries, before the battle of Langensalza he had offered the most favourable conditions to the King of Hanover, and has since made several attempts to come to an understanding with the former Sovereigns of Hanover,

Hesse, and Nassau. Certain influences from without as well as the peculiar character of the respective princes, among whom King George [of Hanover] in Vienna is especially ill-advised, have hitherto frustrated all attempts, while in Hanover political intrigues have come to light which seriously compromised the position of the Queen. Whoever could induce the unfortunate King to consent to such a transaction as would compensate him under favourable conditions for the loss of his rights, would do a great service in the interests of peace, and would protect the monarchical principle from the aggression of those who hope to make political capital for selfish purposes out of the present difficulties. To these difficulties, which form a curious contrast to the national success of the North German parliament, are to be added those produced by the peculiar steps taken by France before and after the Treaty of Prague.

The Luxemburg question has only been settled by the great moderation shown on all sides, and by the timely interference of England by proposing the Conference. It is not necessary to dwell on the danger which the most disastrous of all wars would have had for the whole of civilised Europe, but it is well to point to the necessity of doing all in one's power in order to protect the friendly relations from new dangers, and to establish them for the future. If England together with the 30 millions of the North German Confederation sincerely wishes for peace, and in proper time removes all causes which eventually might lead to war, that is to say, if she keeps a watchful eye on France, and if she does not desert Germany whenever that country has a natural right to expect at least the moral support of England, then France neither under the present nor under any future form of Government will be able to provoke a conflict.

Such a conflict could not fail to be fraught with the utmost danger also in a social point of view, as has been proved by what we have lately experienced as to the stagnation of business, the excitement of party

feeling, etc. The attention of Prussia is therefore directed to England's policy, and to the wisdom of the statesmen who have undertaken so great a task in the question of Reform. The part England has taken in the Conference, which, thanks to the wisdom of the Queen, has prevented the bloody war, has given new importance to her counsels on the Continent. The more unfavourable has been the impression which for the moment has been produced by the interpretation of the collective guarantee with regard to Luxemburg, and it is to be hoped that this interpretation will soon be amended by a suitable declaration from Lord Derby or Lord Stanley. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 30*th June* 1867.—Service in the Chapel at twelve, where Dr. Magee[1] of Cork preached a most beautiful sermon. It was admirable, eloquent, simple, practical, eminently charitable and tolerant, and pointing to the great wickedness of uncharitableness, unforgivingness, cruel and sharp treatment of those who struggled to redeem their faults, and of the horrible wickedness of slander. Altogether it went to my heart and did me good.

2*nd July*.—A Reuter telegram came to Sir T. Biddulph, saying that poor Max had been shot with his Generals on the 19th June! How fearful! Still the news, which came from an Austrian ship from Vera Cruz, seemed uncertain. Much alarmed about it, and telegraphed to Lord Stanley.

4*th* July.—When driving up to the Castle [from Frogmore], met a man with a telegram, confirming, by the Austrian Minister at Washington, the dreadful news about poor Max. Saw Gen. Grey at once, who said it was quite impossible for me to hold a Review after this tragic news had been received. He was to go up after luncheon to see Lord Derby and explain the matter to him.

5*th July*.—The dreadful news was in the papers.

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Peterborough and Archbishop of York.

Too horrid! Poor dear unhappy Charlotte bereft of her reason, and her husband killed. What a shocking end to their luckless undertaking, which I did all I could do to prevent, and which dearest Albert was so much against. All the papers shocked and horrified, and all approving postponement of Review.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

Downing Street, *3rd July* 1867.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that he has this morning received information from Paris, which leaves him no alternative but that of bringing under your Majesty's notice a subject which he knows will be distasteful to your Majesty, and which he should not have ventured to urge, if he had not been assured that it is one of serious political importance. According to present arrangements the Sultan will arrive in London on Friday the 12th, and will not be received by your Majesty until the day of the Naval Review on the 17th. Mr. Moore, who is deputed by the Embassy at Constantinople to wait on the Sultan, has arrived in London, and brings intelligence direct from his Imperial Majesty, and from Fuad Pasha, that he attaches the greatest importance to an audience of your Majesty at the earliest possible time. The reception given to his Imperial Majesty by the Emperor of the French has been of the most magnificent description. His Majesty met him at the Railway Station, and has been unremitting in his attentions; and Lord Derby cannot but feel very strongly that a most unfortunate impression would be produced not only on the Sultan, but on the public mind of this country, if a very marked contrast could be drawn between the cordiality of his reception in Paris, and an absence of any similar indication here.

The matter is so important, that Lord Derby has felt that he should not do his duty if he did not bring it under the consideration of his colleagues; and it is with their strong and unanimous concurrence that he ventures earnestly to press upon your Majesty a

reconsideration and modification of the present plan. If your Majesty could consent to postpone your intended journey to Osborne for three days, and receive the Sultan, if only for ten minutes, on his arrival at Buckingham Palace on the 12th, he would be entirely satisfied, but to his reception there, or at Windsor, on that or the following day, he attaches the greatest importance; and the denial of this gratification would, especially when compared with the honours lavished on him in France, excite a coldness in his mind which might tend to alienate him from this country, and throw him into the arms of France. Lord Derby therefore cannot refrain from urging in the strongest manner, on his own behalf and that of all your Majesty's servants, their humble advice that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to make the sacrifice of your Majesty's personal convenience involved in remaining three days longer at Windsor, and consenting to receive the Sultan either there on Saturday, or at Buckingham Palace on his arrival on Friday. The question appears to your Majesty's servants to be of such serious consequence, that if your Majesty desired a more formal expression of their opinion, he is satisfied that a Minute of Cabinet would be signed by all of them; but he prefers submitting the matter in this private form to your Majesty's gracious consideration, assuring himself that your Majesty will do him the justice to believe that nothing but the strongest sense of duty would lead him to press upon your Majesty, advice which he knows must be unpalatable.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *4th July* 1867.—The Queen received Lord Derby's letter this morning. The word *distasteful* is hardly applicable to the subject; it would be rather nearer the mark to say extremely inconvenient and disadvantageous for the Queen's health. As, however, *a Sultan* is *not* likely to come again, or a Paris Exhibition to take place soon again,

the Queen does *not* object to delay her departure for Osborne, for three or four days, though it is very annoying to her. She thinks, however, that, if the Sultan *knew* how inconvenient it was to the Queen, and that she had *purposely* delayed her departure and changed all her arrangements, to receive him at Windsor, he might be induced to arrive a day sooner. The Queen would then receive him *here* on *Friday* afternoon, say about three or four, and would herself leave for Osborne quite early the following morning.

The Queen has moreover thought it *absolutely* necessary to send Dr. Jenner to Lord Derby to tell him of the real state of her health and nerves, as she is almost driven to desperation by the want of consideration shown by the *public* for her health and strength, and she foresees ere long a *complete breakdown* of her nervous system. She really believes that unless she were crippled by rheumatism or gout, or something which absolutely *prevented* her walking, people would worry her till she sunk under it!

It is very wrong *not* to say that the Queen is *incapable* of those fatigues and of this excitement, working and drudging as she does from *morning* till *night*, and weighed down by the responsibility and cares of her most unenviable position, and with the anxieties consequent upon being the widowed mother of so large a family. Often has she wished that the time might come when she could go to that world "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

It is very wrong of the world to say that it is merely her *distaste* to go out and about as she could when she had her dear husband to support and *protect* her, when the *fact is* that her shattered nerves and health *prevent* her doing so. Still whatever the poor Queen *can* do she will; but she will not be dictated to, or teased by public clamour into doing what she *physically* CANNOT, and she expects her Ministers to protect her from such attempts. They cannot complain that she has not supported them, and

she relies with perfect confidence on their well-known loyalty.

The Queen would now receive the Pasha[1] on Monday, which would be better than Tuesday.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, *9th July* 1867.—A fine, but very hot, morning. Drove to Frogmore as usual, and took our last breakfast with the dear Queen [of Prussia]. Remained there a little while and then went up to the Castle, taking the Queen at twelve down to the station, where we took leave of her. She was quite sad at going away, and told me repeatedly how happy her visit had made her. Nothing could have been kinder or pleasanter than she was, so discreet, and not interfering in the slightest way with my mode of life. She is a true devoted friend of mine, as she was of dearest Albert. She spoke very wisely about German politics, and regretted with me much that had taken place, and the way in which things had been done. She thought it most sad and regrettable that the individualities of the different parts of Germany should have been destroyed, which ought never to have been done. Bertie accompanied the Queen to London.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, *Friday night* [*12th July* 1867].—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, is happy to be able to inform your Majesty, that, so far as he can learn, nothing can have been more satisfactory than the reception which the Sultan has met with on his arrival in England. Both the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge have expressed themselves in strong terms as to the enthusiasm with which his Imperial Majesty has been received at Dover, en route for London, and on his arrival; and as to the strong terms in which H.I.M. has spoken upon it. Fuad Pasha, on whom Lord Bradford called to-day

[1] The Khedive Ismail.

in your Majesty's name, said that the Sultan had expressed himself as "touché jusqu'aux larmes." The preparations which have been made by your Majesty's command at Buckingham Palace, are universally pronounced to be unexceptionable; and Lord Derby does not doubt but that your Majesty's reception of H.I.M. at Windsor to-morrow will confirm to the utmost the favourable impression already produced by that which he has met with from the country at large. . . .

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 15*th July* 1867.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer with his humble duty to your Majesty.

The English Reform Bill passed the House of Commons without a division.[1] House full; the evening began with great bitterness in speeches from Mr. Lowe and Lord Cranborne, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer vindicated the course of the Tory Party amid universal sympathy, and Mr. Gladstone, who had been taking copious notes, refrained from replying.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 17*th July* 1867.—A very bright, but to our vexation a very windy morning. Still there was no news of a postponement of the Review, so felt we were obliged to go, and at half past ten left with all the family for Trinity Pier, the ladies and gentlemen having preceded us. Embarked in the *Alberta*, and steamed close up to the *Victoria and Albert*. Had to go on board the yacht in barges, in a nasty swell. However, we managed well enough. Found dear Marie Leiningen, who is staying on board.

Went on till opposite Osborne, where we lay waiting one hour and a half for the Sultan in violent squalls with heavy rain. At length the *Osborne* appeared, followed by other vessels, and came close up to us. After waiting a little, on account of a heavy

[1] On its third reading.

shower, the Sultan, with Bertie, George, the three Princes, Fuad Pasha, and a good many others, came on board in our barge with a beautiful crimson and gold Turkish standard. I received them at the top of the accommodation ladder, and made the Sultan, who was in plain uniform, put on his cloak again. The Viceroy of Egypt, accompanied by his people, and flying *his* standard, followed and was received by me. He was shy and subdued in the presence of the Sultan. I sat outside the deck saloon with the Sultan, all the others beyond; and he made the Viceroy sit opposite to us and interpret, which he did, sitting at the edge of his chair, his short legs hardly reaching the ground. It must have been a curious sight.

The Sultan feels very uncomfortable at sea, and after sitting in this way a little while, Fuad suggested I might like to rest, and the Sultan too, so he went below, followed by the rest of his suite, and did not reappear on deck until after we had half passed through the Line. He was continually retiring below, and can have seen very little. None of the ships could get under way. Still, it was a very fine sight. The men manned the rigging instead of the yards, and cheered. The saluting took place before we came close up. But, after we passed, they kept up a sort of sham fight, the ships firing at one another, whilst boats were to attack the shore. At length, it being near three, we lunched, I having, just before, given the Sultan the Garter, which he had set his heart upon, though I should have preferred the Star of India, which is more suited for those who are not Christians.[1] The little ceremony took place just inside the entrance to the saloon, and the Sultan was very much pleased, Fuad expressing his satisfaction and gratitude—that he would value the order doubly as a public mark of

[1] Lord Derby had originally proposed that the Star of India should be conferred upon the Sultan, and the Queen entirely agreed, saying that she and the Prince Consort thought that neither the Garter nor the Bath should be given to Eastern and non-Christian sovereigns. But it was found that the Sultan's special ambition was to have the Garter, which his predecessor had received; and the Queen reluctantly consented.

friendship and as a *personal* souvenir. Everyone, Princes and Princesses and the whole suites, were assembled outside to witness the ceremony.

We sat down 16 to luncheon in the deck saloon (only royal personages). Directly afterwards, we weighed anchor, and steamed straight for Osborne. By some mistake, as we came close to the Fleet and passed through the ships, they all saluted, so violently that I thought the windows would break. The Sultan remained below, not feeling very comfortable; but he came on deck, as we stopped off Osborne, and I took leave of him, with many mutual expressions of goodwill, and of gratitude on his part.

Queen Victoria to Lord Stanley.

OSBORNE, 18*th July* 1867. . . . The accusation, founded on Lord Derby's speech,[1] that England avowedly enters into *its* engagements with no intention of observing them *unless* her own interest demands that she should do so, has been made so generally, not only in Berlin, but throughout Germany, that the Queen thinks *regard* for our character for *fidelity to our engagements*, imperatively demands some official notice.

Lord Stanley expresses his entire agreement in the explanation which the Queen wrote to the Queen of Prussia, and of which General Grey sent him a copy by her command. Surely then there should be no difficulty in repeating *officially* something to the same effect.

The Queen has read with a horror *not* to be expressed, the details given in the papers of the murder of the Emperor Maximilian. She trusts her Government will not be behindhand, in marking the sense universally entertained of this atrocity, by at once ordering the departure from the country of the whole British Mission. It would be an *eternal* disgrace *to us*

[1] Lord Derby, in a speech in the House of Lords, had insisted strongly that the guarantee of Luxemburg given by the Powers was a collective and not a separate one; and had explained that, under a collective guarantee, if there was a difference of opinion among the guarantors, no one party was called upon to undertake the duty of enforcing it.

were we to entertain *any diplomatic* relations with such a bloodstained Government as that of the monster Juarez and his adherents.

Lord Stanley to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 20*th July* 1867.—Lord Stanley, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that Count Bernstorff at his last interview asked for no further explanation than that which Lord Stanley had given on the subject of the guarantee, and appeared satisfied with it. He is not disposed to stir the matter again unless occasion should arise; at any rate there is no opportunity afforded for doing so at present.

It is perhaps a circumstance inseparable from the feeling of mutual distrust which still exists between France and Prussia, that the Prussian Government should consider England as an ally against France, regarding the latter as the probable disturber of the peace of Europe; Lord Stanley, however, feels sure that your Majesty will think with him that—closely bound as England is to both these countries by ties of alliance and friendship—it is the duty of your Majesty's Government to observe an attitude of strict and impartial neutrality between them in the event of any difference unfortunately arising. Such an attitude is that which gives the best guarantee for the preservation of peace; for it is only the reputation of impartiality that can give weight to the advice of a mediator. As regards the particular case of Luxemburg, Lord Stanley feels confident that its neutrality will not be disturbed. No great Power could without utter discredit violate a solemn compact lately made in the face of Europe.

With regard to Mexico, Lord Stanley certainly does not desire to press on your Majesty the recognition of the Government of Juarez; indeed it seems to him quite uncertain whether that Government is *de facto* established, or will be able to maintain itself against the rivalry of other candidates for power.

There is only left there a Secretary of Legation, and it is alleged that he also has left Mexico (the capital). Lord Stanley will not fail to communicate to your Majesty any further information he may receive. He would observe that, as Mr. Middleton is not accredited to the Government of Juarez, diplomatic relations do not exist to be broken off.

Queen Victoria to Lord Charles FitzRoy.

OSBORNE, 20*th July* 1867.— . . . The Queen cannot conclude this letter without telling Lord Charles that Sir Thomas Biddulph told the Queen only a few days ago—when she spoke to him about the "state of London," which had been described to her as so dreadful—that he thought it greatly exaggerated, and that Inspector May of the Police, who had taken great pains to enquire, and who knew *more* about the feelings of the people in general than *anyone*, had given it as his *decided* opinion that not only *nothing* would have occurred of an unpleasant nature (such as a scuffle with Mr. Beales and his party, on the occasion of the Review in Hyde Park, which was foretold), but that *he was convinced* that *nothing whatever* of *any unpleasant nature* would have *occurred*! Sir R. Mayne said the same, and Sir Thomas said *he entirely* believed this. This *completely* corroborates all Lord Charles not only heard, but said from the first, and *what* the Queen always herself felt sure of. While it is satisfactory to hear this, it is the more *provoking* that the Queen should have been so *deeply* annoyed (it will be *very* long *before* she forgets *all* the worry and uneasy sensations it caused her), and that she should have been weak *enough* to let Lord D[erby] understand she would listen to the "alarm." Sir Thomas considers it to have been a "*mere panic*." And the Queen must say she is much shocked that Lord D[erby] COULD have listened to *what* must have been *merely* the result of *ill-natured* gossip in the higher classes, caused by dissatisfaction at *not forcing* the Queen *out*—love of ill-natured finding fault (after a

practice of *more* than two years) with what the Queen did, and probably seizing hold of those wicked and idle lies about poor, good Brown, which appeared in the Scotch provincial papers last year, which *no one* noticed or *knew* till LONG after, and which probably have been fished up to serve the malevolent purposes of ill-disposed persons. In addition to this the Queen has heard from a friend, who is acquainted with some of the *most* influential people connected with the *Press*, that they all treat the "talk" about this, and about the Queen's unpopularity, as complete "shameless rubbish," not to be listened to for a *moment*, and that the Queen was *just* as popular and would be just as well received as ever! Certainly so the Queen was *always* in *London* and *everywhere*, only *four days before all* this extraordinary and really shameful fuss was made.

The Queen believes, however, that good will come out of it all—just as has so often been the case before with far more serious and alarming, though equally unfounded, "cries." The Queen will quietly and firmly continue to do what she thinks and knows to be right, though it will leave a painful, bitter feeling in her heart, towards many—not easily to be eradicated.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 24*th July* 1867.—A very fine morning. Breakfasted early on the lawn, and at quarter to ten drove with the Empress [Eugénie], Alice, Louise, Arthur, Louis, etc., to the Pier, where we took leave of her,[1] Arthur and Louis accompanying her to the *Reine Hortense*, which was lying some way out. We returned at once. Nothing could have been kinder or more amiable than the Empress was. I took the opportunity of urging peace (mutually, on the side of France and Prussia), and no arming, laying all the blame on Prussia. Greatly relieved the visit was over,

[1] The Empress had been on a private visit of a few days to Queen Victoria at Osborne—their first meeting since the Prince Consort's death.

H.M. Queen Victoria, 1868.
With John Brown.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

as I am feeling so far from well, and everything tries me so.

The Duchess of Roxburghe and Mr. Walpole dined. Talked to him afterwards of the Reform Bill. He feels, like many, that it may have gone too far, but still he had great confidence in the good sense and loyalty of the people. The upper classes and aristocracy must however "buckle to," or they will deservedly suffer. The lower orders are becoming so well educated that they will push on.

General Grey to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Draft.*] OSBORNE, 29*th July* 1867.

MY DEAR DISRAELI,—Princess Louis [1] sent for me yesterday, and spoke to me by the Queen's desire on the affairs of the Continent, which naturally give her Majesty much anxiety. At this you will not be surprised if you have seen the late accounts from Paris and Berlin, which speak of a still increasing feeling on both side of animosity and irritation. The mutual accusations of arming with hostile intentions cannot go on, still less can a state of continual preparation for war exist, in the present temper of the two countries, without imminent danger of some, possibly trifling, incident bringing about a collision which would involve all Europe in war.

The Queen cannot see such a state of things without asking herself seriously whether England, adhering to a cold policy of non-interference or rather to one of total abstention from all concern in the affairs of the Continent, is to continue in her passive attitude, nor make any attempt to avert such a calamity? Yet she fears that such may be the course which Lord Stanley, unless some pressure is exercised upon him, may be inclined to pursue. You know that it was with some difficulty he was induced to join in the measures which prevented the Luxemburg question from resulting in a calamitous war, which the Queen

[1] Of Hesse, *i.e.* Princess Alice.

herself may claim the credit of having been mainly instrumental in averting; for both the Queen of Prussia and the Empress of the French have personally assured her Majesty that the preservation of Peace was almost entirely owing to the letter which she wrote to the King of Prussia, and which it was entirely her own suggestion that she should write.

Her Majesty therefore commands me to write to you, and to invite your most serious attention to this subject. She would ask you to consider whether there is any similar step which she could take, under present circumstances, either through her Ambassadors, or by a direct appeal to the two Sovereigns, which might lead to an equally happy result.

Whether anything of this sort can be done or not, her Majesty is strongly of opinion that the action of her Government should be firm and decided; and that our true policy, in the interest of Peace, would be, instead of proclaiming to the world that we considered the guarantee in which we had joined with respect to Luxemburg to mean nothing, to let it be clearly understood that certain contingencies would bring England inevitably into the field. A war cannot take place between France and Prussia without, in all probability, bringing not only the neutrality of Luxemburg, but the independence of Belgium, into question, and no possibility of doubt should exist of the determination of England to maintain her own engagements, and to insist upon other Powers maintaining theirs, on both these questions.

Lord Stanley is quite right in saying that we are equally bound by ties of alliance and friendship both to France and Prussia, and that we should "hold the balance even" between the two countries, and do nothing unnecessarily to endanger our peaceful relations with either. Yet our interests are very differently affected by the two countries. If we keep up an enormous force of volunteers, if we incur a frightful expense to create an Iron-clad Navy, to fortify our coasts and ports, to organise an Army of Reserve, etc.

etc., it is caused by fear of the *possible* designs of *France*. With *Prussia* we have no clashing interests —no possible point of collision. On the contrary, assuming France to be the Power, as she is, which can alone seriously threaten the peace or security either of England or Germany, our respective countries have an immense power of giving each other reciprocal support and assistance for defensive purposes. The fear of a German Army on the Rhine would probably have more effect than the fear either of our Volunteers or Army of Reserve, in deterring France from attacking us; while we could come effectually with our fleet to the assistance of Prussia in the Baltic, in case of French aggression upon her. While, therefore, we cultivate the most friendly relations with all other Powers, including France, the *principle* of our Foreign Policy (and this was also the opinion of the Prince Consort) should be a thorough understanding for mutual support, in the interest of Peace, with North Germany; and of this it would be well that Germany should feel assured.

There may be some difficulty in bringing this about without giving cause of suspicion and distrust to France, but the Queen is deeply impressed with the soundness of the principle, and thinks it ought not to be lost sight of. Perhaps too the object may be effected by letting both France and Prussia understand that England is prepared, should the necessity arise, to put forth her utmost strength, to uphold what she has guaranteed.

Prussia is not likely to violate either the neutrality of Luxemburg or the independence of Belgium; indeed she has no interest to do so unless she sees reason to believe that England means her guarantee of both these objects to remain a dead letter, in which case she might think it her interest to come to an agreement with France, fatal to the independence of the rest of Europe. France is much more likely to disregard the engagements into which she has entered; for on all the questions which threatened the peace of

Europe during the past year, she put herself, as the Queen views it, clearly and unmistakably in the wrong. She can have no right to interfere in the internal organisation of Germany, and certainly had none to demand the evacuation of Luxemburg by its German garrison. The result of the war between Austria and Prussia gave her no legitimate pretence for demanding territorial compensation from the latter, and Austria is the only Power who can call upon Prussia for the fulfilment of the conditions of the Treaty of Nikolsburg as regards Schleswig. Were France, therefore, to provoke a quarrel with Prussia on any of these questions, she would clearly be the aggressor; but she will never venture to do so if she knows that such was our opinion, and that in such a quarrel we should think Prussia—or rather I should say Germany—entitled to the moral support of England.

The Queen is confirmed in her conviction of the expediency of our acting firmly on a well-defined and understood system of foreign policy, by the advantageous result of our intervention on the Luxemburg question. It is not only that Peace was preserved chiefly by our means, but our action in that question went far towards restoring to England the prestige there can be doubt she had lost; and it is neither for our national credit, nor for the interest of the world, that we should again fall into the state of absolute disregard, from which we have now *partly* recovered.

Her Majesty would therefore strongly urge the necessity of your giving your best attention to our whole system of foreign policy, so as to secure to England the respect and influence which is due to her as the Power who, above all others, can have no ambitious views of her own, nor any interest but in the preservation of the general Peace.

There are many reasons into which I need not now enter, which have induced her Majesty to desire me to address this letter to you, instead of direct to Lord Stanley. She feels confident, whether or not you concur in her views, which I fear I have very imper-

fectly explained, that you will at all events agree in the importance of the subject.

Mr. Disraeli to General Grey.

Confidential. GROSVENOR GATE, 31*st July* 1867.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I received your packet last night, or rather early this morning, on my return home.

With my humble duty to her Majesty, you may assure the Queen of the entire confidence in which I received the intimations contained in your letter, and of my constant efforts to sustain her Majesty's policy.

Lord Stanley, of late, acting, I hope, in some degree under the influence of my reiterated representations, has entirely dropped the phrase, and, I hope, the abstract policy, of what is called "*non-intervention*," and during the last few weeks has held to this language, when pressed by the French Government to join in some representation to Prussia: that he considered that Prussia had been somewhat unduly pressed in the matter of Luxemburg, and that he was unwilling to convey to that Power an impression, that England unduly favoured France. I think the general bias of Lord Stanley's mind is to lean towards Prussia, and I have always encouraged and enforced that tendency.

But I do not gather the actual state of affairs from your letter. I apprehend it to be this. On Sunday last, I received information from a first-rate channel, that France, greatly disappointed by Lord Stanley's refusal to join in a representation to Prussia respecting the Schleswig question, had made an overture to Russia, who consented to make a joint representation with France at Berlin, and that joint appeal had succeeded, and removed all causes of disagreement.

I could not manage to see Lord Stanley until Monday, when we met at the House of Commons, and I told him this. It was unknown to him, but he was greatly interested by it; but he told me that, from something which had reached him during the last

eight and forty hours, he was convinced that France did not contemplate war; he believed she never had. Her action was all restless and mortified vanity, but she was neither able, nor willing, to go to war.

He distinctly told me that, in declining joint action with France some little time previously, he had not touched on "non-interference," but clearly said we reserved to ourselves to take such a course as the interests of Europe and England required.

This is written *currente calamo*, but you will not esteem it less for being unstudied. Ever yours sincerely, D.

[*Copy.*] *General Grey to Mr. Disraeli.*

Private. OSBORNE, *5th August* 1867.

MY DEAR DISRAELI,—I did not fail to submit your letter of last Wednesday to the Queen, and am desired to express the gratification her Majesty derived from its perusal. She was glad to gather from it that you coincided in the policy she recommended, and still more to hear what you said of Lord Stanley's tendency to lean towards Germany rather than towards France. Of the soundness of that policy the Queen is more and more convinced.

It was to impress this opinion upon you that her Majesty desired me to write to you; but I fear I did not express myself as clearly as I might have done. The state of things to which her Majesty wished me particularly to call your attention, was the danger (on which, when she spoke to me by her Majesty's command, Princess Louis dwelt very strongly) that if England stood passively by, and allowed a rupture to take place between France and Prussia, those Powers, after a battle or campaign or two, might shake hands, and make up their quarrel at the expense of the independence of the rest of Europe. In view of such a danger the Queen feared that Lord Stanley might go too far in expressing a determination, under no circumstances to allow England to be mixed up in

the disputes of the two countries, holding, as he expresses it, "an even balance, etc.," between them.

If, on both sides, France and Prussia are bent on quarrelling with each other, it may be difficult to prevent their doing so. Still if the aggressor were to know that, in such a quarrel, the moral, and in certain cases, the material support of England would be given to the other side, that is, that England would not, under all contingencies, maintain a dogged neutrality, it might prevent steps being taken on either side that must lead to war. For instance, if both France and Prussia were assured that any violation of the independence of Belgium or of the neutrality of Luxemburg would certainly bring England into the field in maintenance of the guarantees to which she is a party, both countries would probably shrink from being the first to provoke a rupture which might lead to such a result. Such an assurance, though impressed equally on both, would in fact be directed rather against France than against Prussia; for the latter can have no interest in provoking a quarrel, and is not likely to violate her engagements either as regards Belgium or Luxemburg, which is more, probably, than can be said with equal confidence of France.

The Queen is supported in her conviction of the real desire on the part of Prussia for peace, by a letter [1] which the King of Prussia wrote to his Queen while she was at Windsor, and which, by her Majesty's command, I sent to Lord Stanley. Indeed it was evidently intended for communication to the Government. In this letter the King expressed his earnest desire for the closest union with England, and said that, if England and Germany could depend on each other's support, France would never be able to disturb the peace of the world; and having this belief he expressed the greatest regret at the manner in which Lord Derby had spoken of the Luxemburg guarantee, which had produced a painful impression in Germany. . . .

[1] Printed above, pp. 437–440.

I have now only to repeat the expression of her Majesty's strong conviction that if, without doing anything to offend France, we can establish the close union with Germany, which the King of Prussia on his side seems so anxious to effect, our foreign policy will rest upon a sure foundation and we shall take the course most likely to be successful in preserving the peace of Europe. Believe me, . . . C. GREY.

Lord Stanley to General Grey.

Private. FOREIGN OFFICE, *9th August* 1867.

DEAR GENERAL GREY,— . . . I fear there is no resisting the evidence of a growing expectation of war both in France and Prussia. We have helped them out of one quarrel, at some risk of burning our own fingers, but we cannot go on doing this every six months, nor would it be of any use. If they mean fighting, a pretext can always be found. So far as England is concerned, I really think we are experiencing as much inconvenience in the way of disturbed trade, and so forth, as we should if the fighting had actually begun. The expectation of it paralyses everything.

If war does break out, we have only one course; that of a rigidly impartial neutrality. The combatants are very equally matched: superiority of numbers, and I think of pecuniary resources, on the side of France; on that of Prussia a somewhat superior military system. The Emperor has a domestic opposition to contend against; Prussia is unpopular in the newly acquired territories, where high taxes and conscription are novelties. Both are playing for high stakes: the Emperor, defeated, will probably lose his throne; Prussia, defeated, will lose the leadership of Germany. I have always felt the difficulty of peace being maintained: but, till lately, persevered in hoping against hope. I still think, however, that nothing will happen till next spring. . . . Very truly yours, STANLEY.

General Grey to Sir Stafford Northcote.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 10*th August* 1867.

MY DEAR SIR STAFFORD,—In returning this abstract of despatches, which it is proposed to send to India, the Queen wishes me to say that she is glad to see that the barbarous (she cannot qualify it otherwise) suggestion of the Commissioner in British Burma, to burn the Village of Malacca, and to destroy its Coco-nut trees, in revenge for the massacre of a Ship's Company, has been disapproved.

Her Majesty would have been better pleased, however, if the disapproval of the suggestion had been based upon a general condemnation of a system, too often, she fears, adopted in the East, of imitating the barbarities of a half-savage People, rather than of setting them the example of a policy founded on Christian principles. Her Majesty feels very strongly on this subject.

It is not the first time the Queen has lamented this tendency on the part of Englishmen in the East, and she trusts to you to lose no opportunity of discouraging it. Believe me, yours very truly, C. GREY.

Queen Victoria to the Empress of the French.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20 *Août* 1867.— . . . Permettez-moi, en terminant ces lignes, de vous exprimer de nouveau toute la satisfaction que j'ai éprouvée en vous revoyant et en reconnaissant à quel point vous partagez le désir qui m'anime de faire tout pour maintenir la paix du monde. Rien ne pouvait m'être plus précieux que l'assurance que la lettre écrite par moi au Roi de Prusse dans un moment critique avait été pour quelque chose, dans ce que nous avons, l'une et l'autre, si profondément à cœur.

Je suis persuadée que vous avez comme moi la conviction que l'unique moyen d'empêcher la guerre et d'éloigner les crises qui l'amènent, c'est d'éviter d'entamer les questions qui peuvent irriter l'amour-

propre des nations française et allemande, et que votre si puissante influence sera toujours exercée dans le but d'écarter ces questions, souvent par elles-mêmes peu importantes, mais dont la discussion rend si difficile le maintien de la paix.

Dans ma triste position, je trouve qu'il m'appartient plus que jamais de travailler à conjurer le malheur d'une guerre quelconque et je me réjouis de ne point poursuivre seule cette tâche.

General Grey to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Copy.*] HOWICK, *24th September* 1867.

MY DEAR DISRAELI,—I cannot obey her Majesty's commands better than by sending you the enclosed letter which I have received this morning from Princess Christian.

When after the arrangement between Prussia and Saxony, which took from the latter the direction of her own foreign relations, or at least placed them under the control of Prussia, Lord Stanley proposed the withdrawal of the British Mission from Dresden, the Queen strongly objected to what appeared to her Majesty both an unnecessary, and an uncourteous, proceeding. Lord Stanley, however, argued with much justice that, after the surrender made by Saxony of the direction of her foreign affairs, it would be a burlesque on diplomacy to maintain the farce of a Mission to a Court which had no power to decide any question that might arise.[1] Her Majesty yielded to his strongly expressed opinion, though still feeling deeply the apparent unkindness and discourtesy of such an act to a Sovereign who was the Head of the Family to which she herself belonged. This feeling was much increased, when it appeared that England was the *only* Power which had taken this step—Prussia herself continuing her Minister at Dresden.

Her Majesty, in consequence, brought the subject again under the consideration both of Lord Derby and Lord Stanley, in the hope that something might

[1] See Lord Stanley's letter above, pp. 370, 371.

be devised, which would have the effect of showing the King of Saxony that no slight had been intended towards him, and it was, I believe, determined that a Chargé d'Affaires, to be attached, however, to the British Embassy at Berlin, should still be maintained at Dresden. On this point, however, I do not speak with any confidence, and I have no means here of verifying my recollections.

That the King was *deeply* hurt, the Queen has long known and lamented, and the enclosed letter will show you how deeply the wound still rankles.

I can add nothing to what the Princess says, and I am sure you will give your best consideration to the means of giving effect to the Queen's wish that something should be done to soothe the King's wounded feelings.

I shall be here for another fortnight before going to Balmoral. Pray return the Princess's letter, and believe me, ever yours truly, C. Grey.

Lord Stanley to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 26*th Sept.* 1867.—Lord Stanley, with his humble duty to your Majesty, submits that Mr. Lowther has accepted the Mission to Buenos Ayres.

The post of Secretary of Embassy at Berlin remains to be filled up.

Lord Stanley does not forget the suggestion with which your Majesty honoured him, as to Mr. Morier's [1] fitness for that post; and so far as personal ability is concerned, he entirely agrees that Mr. Morier is fit for the place; but he is bound respectfully to add that the objections to this appointment appear to him insuperable.

It is well known that Count Bismarck, the head of the Prussian Government, who is all-powerful at Berlin, entertains a feeling of personal dislike towards Mr. Morier. Count Bernstorff has said as much to Lord Stanley. This dislike appears to be founded on the

[1] See above, p. 205.

language which Mr. Morier is said to have been in the habit of holding as to the internal politics of Germany. Now, in Lord Stanley's opinion, there is no duty more binding on a British Minister than that of abstaining from interference, or even the appearance of it, in the internal affairs of the country to which he is sent. And even if Count Bismarck's hostility be groundless, it does not seem wise, without the very strongest reason to the contrary, to select specially for service in Prussia the only person (probably) in the English diplomatic service to whom the Prussian Premier entertains a personal objection.

Lord Stanley hopes that, in what is said above, he has so explained himself as to make it clear that he does not question either Mr. Morier's ability or his trustworthiness. He questions only the policy of sending him to that particular place in which, for the reasons stated, he is less likely to be useful than elsewhere.

But there are other considerations that cannot be lost sight of. The rule of late years observed in diplomatic promotions has always been, that a person fully qualified for a vacant post shall not be passed over in favour of a junior, unless for very special reasons. Now above Mr. Morier, on the list, there are at least six or seven gentlemen of ability not less than his, of equal service, and of longer standing; and Lord Stanley cannot but feel that to put him over all their heads would cause great and not unreasonable discontent. He has consulted much on the subject in this Office; and he now ventures to lay before your Majesty a Memorandum prepared for his own use, and which, he has every reason to believe, accurately represents the feelings of the service. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

BALMORAL, *29th Sept.* 1867.—The Queen thinks it best to write to Lord Derby on a subject which requires very careful consideration, and in which important interests are involved. When Lord Stanley

was here the other day, the Queen showed him the accompanying extract of a letter from the Crown Princess on the subject of the Secretary to the English Embassy there, which was likely then to be soon, and has now actually become vacant. Lord Stanley seemed then much disposed to accede to the Queen's and Crown Princess's wish to see Mr. Morier appointed to that vacancy; and she repeated it again to him the other day. However, the Queen received the day before yesterday the letter from Lord Stanley which she now sends to Lord Derby, as well as the accompanying Memorandum. Now, the Queen has *no* wish to put Mr. Morier over the heads of other deserving and distinguished Diplomatists, but she must say that she thinks that the *best interests* of the service go *long* before considerations of this kind, and that in these *days* the fittest person *ought* always to be chosen. To select a person for *that* post who is *totally* unacquainted with Germany and German politics (which the Queen is sorry to say hardly any Englishmen understand and often don't even take the trouble to understand) would be *very* injudicious and hurtful to the interests of both countries, and the Queen would *really not* feel justified in giving her sanction to such an appointment, as she has seen the mischief caused by them. Amongst those named in the Memorandum, there is *not one* who would have the necessary *qualification*, excepting Mr. Odo Russell, and *if* he could be prevailed on to accept the place the Queen thinks there could *not* be a better appointment, as he thoroughly understands and appreciates Germany. Failing him, Mr. Fane would be the best, *if* it is thought *impossible now at once* to appoint Mr. Morier to the post for which he *undoubtedly* is the fittest. Count Bismarck's objections to him are *no* disadvantage, because Count Bismarck dislikes England, and does not wish for any intimate relations between the countries. And, as for Count Bernstorff, without *no* doubt *wishing* to do any harm, he is constantly misrepresenting everything in England and at Court in his despatches. *This*

the Queen wishes should remain a *secret* but it is nevertheless a fact. His views moreover are much like Bismarck's.

The Queen has now placed the whole case before Lord Derby, and would ask him to represent the great importance of this appointment and the necessity of appointing, to the post of Secretary of Embassy at Berlin, *only* a person *thoroughly* acquainted with Germany and the present state of German feeling and politics, which people who have been at St. Petersburg, Constantinople, and Washington cannot be expected to be.

The Queen would wish to have Lord Stanley's letter and Memorandum back.

Lord Stanley to the Earl of Derby.[1]

Private. FOREIGN OFFICE, *3rd October* 1867.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I have received your letter and its enclosures, and I need not say how sincerely I regret that, upon any matter, the view which I feel compelled to take should differ from that entertained by the Queen. In the case of Morier, however, I am bound to say that further consideration has increased rather than diminished my conviction that the objections to his appointment to Berlin are insuperable. It is quite true that, when the subject was first mentioned to me at Balmoral, these objections did not occur to my mind. If they had I should have relied on the indulgence of her Majesty, and stated them frankly. It is true also that a system of strict seniority, irrespective of personal merit, would be fatal to the efficiency of the diplomatic, and of any other service. But I have never contended for the adoption of any such system. I only say that, where merit and service are equal, it is neither fair nor politic to promote one man over the heads of a great many others. And though I think very highly indeed of Morier—he seems to me a man destined eventually

[1] Forwarded to the Queen by Lord Derby, with the expression of a hope that her Majesty would find its arguments convincing.

to rise to the head of his profession—I cannot say he is superior to Lytton, Stuart, Burnley, Odo Russell, and others who may reasonably expect that their turn should come first. You know better than anyone how entirely I have always treated these questions of promotion on their own merits, without reference to personal or political preferences.

But there is another aspect of this question, which though rather a delicate one, I cannot entirely overlook. It is no doubt the fact that with the internal politics of Germany Morier is more thoroughly conversant than probably any other diplomatist. But it is also the fact that, as I well know, he feels very warmly and strongly upon them; feels in fact as though he were himself a German politician; and that his ideas as to what ought to be done are directly opposed to those of the present Prussian Ministry. This, so far as it goes, is to my mind an objection. I do not doubt that, having pledged himself to abstain from interference, he would as an honourable man do so, but I am sure he would do so with personal reluctance and difficulty, and that, from his well-known opinions, there would be a continual suspicion, unfounded but nevertheless mischievous, of his being mixed up in these affairs. I can conceive nothing more inconvenient as regards the position of the British Embassy. We have nothing whatever to do with the internal politics of German States. By meddling in these, we only destroy our proper and legitimate influence in matters affecting Europe. And in choosing Ministers to go abroad, I should attach considerable importance to the selection of such individuals as would thoroughly understand and act upon this principle.

If I understand from you that the question of Morier's going to Berlin is allowed to drop, I will submit to her Majesty the names of two or three gentlemen, any of whom I believe would be fully equal to the duty there to be performed. Believe me,

STANLEY.

Sir Stafford Northcote to the Earl of Derby.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, *6th October* 1867.

MY DEAR LORD DERBY,—The Queen has desired me to write to you with reference to the correspondence on the subject of the Berlin Secretaryship of Legation, and to say that her Majesty fears you may have partly misunderstood her. It was not her Majesty's wish to press the personal claims of Mr. Morier, and she recognises the force of the objection taken to his promotion over the heads of so many of his seniors. Her Majesty's object was, to impress strongly upon yourself and Lord Stanley the importance of selecting for this post some one who has made German affairs a more special subject of study, than, she believes, most of the younger diplomatists have done. In proposing Mr. Morier neither the Queen nor the Crown Princess of Prussia had any other object than the furtherance of the interests of this country, and her Majesty trusts that whoever may be selected will be chosen with reference to his fitness for the special duties of this post. I remain, etc., STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 14*th Oct.* 1867.—Gen. Grey asked to see me when I came in, and said he was sorry to alarm me, but must show me a telegram from Mr. Hardy, reporting that the Mayor of Manchester[1] had informed him, having the news from a reliable source, that the Fenians had said they meant to try and seize me here, and were starting to-day or to-morrow! Too foolish!! Mr. Hardy added that special precautions should be taken, so Gen. Grey asked to be allowed to send at once for a detachment of troops from Aberdeen (93rd Highlanders) to be placed at Abergeldie, but letting it appear as if it were for to-morrow's ceremony.[2] He has also asked for additional police.

[1] See Introductory Note for the Manchester Fenian crime.

[2] When a local statue of the Prince Consort, the gift of the Queen, was unveiled by her Majesty.

The Earl of Derby to General Grey.

Confidential. KNOWSLEY, 19*th October* 1867.

MY DEAR GREY,—I have received, one yesterday evening, the other this morning, two letters from you both dated the 17th. I will, by to-morrow's post to London, inform Mr. Boyd of his nomination to the Deanery of Exeter, and of the Queen's approval. You may assure her Majesty that I have as strong an objection to the Ritualist Clergy as her Majesty herself can have; and that she need not apprehend my submission of the names of any of them for preferment; but I must be allowed to add that the general feeling on this head has led to many clergymen being stigmatised as High Churchmen who are no more so than I am myself, and among whom are to be found many of those best qualified to fill high offices in the Church, and on whom her Majesty could not interpose her veto without causing serious injury and creating great dissatisfaction. I shall be careful to offer no recommendation to her Majesty without a statement of my own opinion of the views of the person recommended.

Now with regard to the arrangements relating to, and consequent on, her Majesty's return to Windsor, I am left in doubt, from your two letters, whether it is the intention of her Majesty to prolong her stay in the Highlands, or, as I rather gather from your second letter, rather to anticipate the time of her journey. I wish to explain what I meant by saying that I thought her Majesty was as safe, or safer, at Balmoral than anywhere else. Looking to the great distance, and to the observation which would naturally be attracted to the presence of any strangers, I thought it very unlikely that any attempt should be made there; but on the other hand, if any such attempt were made, the absolutely unprotected state of her Majesty in her late drives affords a facility for its execution which renders necessary such precautions as you have taken, but which, elsewhere, might be to a great

degree dispensed with. I fear that if her Majesty prolongs her stay, she will find the weather become unpleasantly severe; and it must not be overlooked that the later in the year the journey is made, the longer will be the hours of darkness. If, however, her Majesty should decide on this alternative, it will be necessary to give timely notice to the Council Office, and to Ministers to form a quorum for a Council; which in that case would have to be held sooner than Monday the 4th, and probably, looking to the difficulties of Scotch travelling, Friday the 1st (in the morning) would be the most convenient time. If her Majesty cannot be induced to make her journey by day, I may perhaps be allowed to suggest that the period of her departure might be so timed as to throw the greater portion of the dark hours into the earlier portion of the journey, as to give as much daylight as possible to the southern part, where, if anywhere, danger is to be apprehended. I cannot say that I approve of your suggestion that a change of time and route should be made at the last moment. First, I think it impossible that it should be kept secret; and if it could, on the one hand the inconvenience to the abandoned line would be *very great*; and it would be impossible for the adopted one to take, at the last moment, the ordinary precautions, and make the necessary traffic arrangements; but still more, the object of the change could not be concealed; and nothing could give the Fenians a greater triumph than to be able to boast that from fear of them the Queen, in moving from one part of her dominions to another, was obliged to do so secretly, and as it were surreptitiously. The public impression caused by such a course, would, I am sure, be most unfortunate. . . . Yours sincerely, DERBY.

Mr. Gathorne Hardy to Queen Victoria.

HOME OFFICE, 20*th Nov.* 1867.—Mr. Gathorne Hardy presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to lay before your Majesty the unani-

mous decision of the Cabinet just held upon the question of the sentences on the Manchester Convicts. It has been decided finally and irrevocably that the law shall be left to take its course in the cases of Allen, Larkin, and Gould, the active and armed ringleaders, the first having killed one policeman and wounded another, and a civilian, the second having shot one of the horses, and deliberately fired several shots at a policeman and others, the third having also killed one of the horses of the van, and the preponderance of the evidence is that he fired at and wounded the policeman Trueman. These three were at the beginning and end of the affray, and were captured red-handed.

It is proposed that Shore should be reprieved, as, though he took a considerable part in driving back the police and others with stones, there is only one witness who speaks to having seen him with a pistol, and there is no proof that he fired at any particular person. Though he might justly be made amenable to the extreme penalty of the law, it has been thought more politic and expedient to recognise a slight distinction between him and the other three convicts whose execution will suffice for example. Penal servitude for life will be his punishment.

Mr. Gathorne Hardy desires humbly to add that Lord Derby would have written if Mr. Gathorne Hardy had not, and that nothing special has occurred in the House of Lords or otherwise, to which it is necessary to call your Majesty's attention.

General Grey to Mr. Gathorne Hardy.

[*Copy.*]

Private. WINDSOR CASTLE, 20*th November* 1867.

DEAR MR. HARDY,—The Queen desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this afternoon.

Sad as it is to her Majesty to give an opinion in favour of what may appear to be a severe decision, yet she feels it to be her duty not to shrink from expressing her belief that her Government have taken

the proper course and that which true humanity itself would dictate—in allowing the Law to take its course with these unfortunate men.

The example, she trusts, will not be lost; but that it will have the effect, not only of deterring others from the perpetration of crimes which they have appeared to believe they might commit with impunity, but also of protecting the lives of her Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, which must always be one of the main objects of her Government.

Her Majesty must, therefore, entirely approve the decision of her Government in this unhappy business.—C. GREY.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 26*th Nov.* 1867 (12 *o'clock*).—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He introduced to-night, in a very guarded speech (avoiding all points of controversy), *the vote of credit* (*two millions*) for the *Abyssinian expedition.*[1]

His plan for the battle was, that, when the attack was made and the enemy had betrayed their points of assault, Lord Stanley should reply on the *policy*, and Sir S. Northcote on the *administrative* details of the preparations. These two generals of division realised all his hopes, and gained laurels.

Mr. Lowe opened the attack with much elaboration, but with less fire than fury. Lord Stanley, not *excited*, but *stimulated* by everything at stake, made by far the greatest and the most successful effort he has yet achieved in the House of Commons. He covered every point of the case, and concluded even with a burst of feeling.

The effect was so great, that the House broke up, though it had been well filled, and never afterwards fairly got together. The understanding for an adjourned debate was relinquished, and the opposition to the vote took the shape of cavils and petty

[1] See Introductory Note to this chapter.

criticism from second-rate men, Mr. Gladstone sending a message that he should probably not speak, and merely on the financial points. Mr. Bright, who came down to speak, left the House.

It was difficult to find an excuse to put up Sir Stafford Northcote, but we contrived to do so. He is now about to conclude, but there is every prospect of the debate finishing with some remarks from Mr. Gladstone.

The two million vote will certainly pass to-night.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 1*st Dec.* 1867.—Saw Mr. G. Hardy after luncheon. He talked of this terrible Fenianism, which, he said, continued to be very serious and that it was most difficult to proceed against them, as one could not expose those who gave information, without running the risk of defeating the objects of justice. There was a great deal of mixed information of different kinds, some of which could not be relied upon, whereas others could. All sorts of rumours and warnings came from abroad. His life was known to be threatened, and I begged him to run no unnecessary risks.

Saw the Bishop of New Zealand,[1] who came with the Dean. After having been pressed by me and the Archbishop of Canterbury, he has consented to accept the Bishopric of Lichfield. He is a very earnest man, devoted to his missionary work in New Zealand and to the natives, having been bishop there for 26 years. He says it is a sacrifice to take up this new post, but he feels he ought "to obey orders," I having pressed him on account of the disturbed, distracted state of the Church. He said, "It will be a great change to me, after my wild life in the hills." I do indeed pity him, for the exchange to the Black Country, where there will be no romance, no primitive races, but the worst kind of uncivilised civilisation, will be most trying.

[1] Dr. Selwyn.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *9th Dec.* 1867.—The Queen, yesterday evening, consulted Major Elphinstone about Prince Arthur going with his brother and sister [1] to Knowsley, and he sees no objection to it, so that the Queen gladly accepts for him Lord Derby's very kind invitation, knowing that he could not go to a *better* house. The Queen would ask Lord Derby to consult Major Elphinstone about *all* that Prince Arthur should do, and also has asked him to explain to Lord and Lady Derby her wishes about the shooting.

Queen Victoria to Lord Stanley.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *11th Dec.* 1867.—The Queen returns this draft, on which she would only remark that the end seems entirely inconsistent with the beginning, in which Lord Stanley declines the responsibility of advising the Italian Government as to the course they should pursue with respect to the Conference, in consequence of M. Rouher's Speech,[2] the conclusion containing distinct advice to be cautious in entering into negotiations from which they could expect no favourable result.

But the Queen would take this opportunity of again calling Lord Stanley's attention to the manner in which despatches are now constantly sent "for her approval," which appear by their date to have been already sent from the Foreign Office. This despatch is a case in point. It may be said that such despatches only refer to matters of fact, as recording conversations which have already taken place. But such conversations, when embodied in a despatch, become the official explanation of the policy of the Government, and the Queen must once more desire that so irregular a practice may not be continued.

[1] Prince and Princess Christian.

[2] Referring to M. Rouher's declaration, as Minister of State, in the French Legislature, that France would not suffer Italy to seize upon Rome. The Emperor Napoleon proposed a Conference on the Roman question, but found there was no general desire for it, and it never met.

Lord Stanley to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 12*th Dec.* 1867.—Lord Stanley, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that the drafts sent for your Majesty's approval are never, to the best of his belief, despatched so as to reach their destination before your Majesty's approval of them has been received. While only in transit they can be recalled, if objected to, or alterations made by telegraph. But Lord Stanley has taken especial care that they should not be in the hands of the Minister to whom they are addressed before receiving your Majesty's sanction. The reason for thus sending them out, subject to alteration or suppression by a subsequent telegraphic order, is to avoid the very considerable delay that would otherwise occur, where, as in the case of Constantinople and Florence, messengers are despatched only once a fortnight. But this practice, though it in no degree diminishes your Majesty's power of cancelling or altering despatches, can be modified if disapproved by your Majesty.

Lord Stanley having used in the beginning of this letter the phrase "to the best of his belief," thinks it right to add that he has since ascertained that the rule in question is invariably adhered to, as he desired it should be.

Lord Stanley hopes that he may be allowed to remark on your Majesty's comment on the despatch lately sent back "that the end seems entirely inconsistent with the beginning." The fault may lie in the wording of the draft, but the inconsistency is apparent only.

Monsieur d'Azeglio wished Lord Stanley to instruct the British Minister at Florence to give, formally and officially, the advice not to enter the Conference proposed. This would have been a serious and important diplomatic transaction; and the despatch embodying it would have been liable to be appealed to, and even published, by the Italian Government. Lord Stanley declined to take this responsibility, which

seemed to him unnecessary and inconvenient. He declined to give any official advice; but simply expressed in conversation his personal opinion that the Italians had better be cautious, etc. He would submit, first, that between the advice to refuse an offer and the advice not to accept it without caution and consideration there is a wide difference; next, that there is an equally wide difference between the expression of a personal opinion in conversation, and the formal giving of advice, in the name of the Government, and in a despatch intended for publication.

[*Later, same day.*]—Lord Stanley, with his humble duty, would add to his letter of to-day one fact which he omitted to mention to your Majesty.

The dates of despatches represent the days on which they are written, not those on which they are sent out. Thus a despatch, bearing date two or three days before the date when it is seen by your Majesty, may, in the majority of cases, be still in the office when the draft is returned by your Majesty.

General Grey to Mr. Gathorne Hardy.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 14*th December* 1867.

DEAR MR. HARDY,—In the midst of the distressing thoughts which this sad anniversary always renews, the Queen is much occupied and afflicted by the news of this shocking outrage.[1]

Her heart bleeds to think of the misery thus wantonly inflicted on so many innocent victims by this atrocious wickedness, and she trusts that her Government will take into its serious consideration what can be done for the more effectual protection of her faithful and peaceful subjects.

The Queen will be glad to hear any further details you may obtain of what has occurred, and sincerely hopes that neither those who planned nor those who perpetrated the outrage may escape the punishment they deserve.—C. GREY.

[1] The blowing-up of the wall of Clerkenwell Prison. See Introductory Note.

Dr. Jenner to Queen Victoria.

18 Harley Street, 16*th December* 1867 (*Monday*).

Madam,—As your Majesty commanded I to-day visited in your Majesty's name the poor wounded people in St. Bartholomew's and the Royal Free Hospitals, and most grateful they seemed for your Majesty's gracious consideration.

Many of the cases would have deeply moved your Majesty. One poor woman at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, not severely injured, but confined to bed, was crying bitterly; she had just heard of the death of one of her children in the Royal Free Hospital, and was asking most piteously how her other child, also in the Royal Free Hospital, was. I subsequently saw the child in the Royal Free Hospital, and it was crying bitterly for its mother. It is to be wished they were in the same Hospital, but are too ill to be moved.

Several children are so deeply cut and injured in the face that they must be disfigured for life. I saw one sad case in the Royal Free Hospital. A little child between five and six years of age had one eye completely destroyed by the explosion, and the other eye so injured that no hope of preserving the sight is entertained.

The patients in both Hospitals assured me that they want for nothing, and that everyone is most kind and attentive. I asked all if your Majesty could give them anything to add to their comfort or relieve their suffering, and the reply was always the same, viz. that they had everything they required. An old man at the Royal Free Hospital replied, "If I had paid them a thousand pounds they could not do more for me or be kinder." A poor tailor at St. Bartholomew's, whose arm is broken, and who is otherwise injured, told me his wife was lying dead, and his mother much injured in another ward, and then added expressions of gratitude for your Majesty's kindness.

Fruit and toys for the less severely injured children are all the additional comforts I can suggest, and

these, as your Majesty desired, I will see that they have in your Majesty's name. . . . I have the honour to be, your Majesty's most humble and obedient Servant, WILLIAM JENNER.

Queen Victoria to Lord Stanley.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16*th Dec.* 1867.—The Queen has received Lord Stanley's letter of the 12th.

She cannot doubt that it is Lord Stanley's wish to observe the constitutional practice of taking the Queen's pleasure before he forwards despatches of any importance to their destination. But she cannot approve of the irregular habit which has crept in, of sending off despatches without her sanction having been previously obtained, trusting to the power of cancelling them by telegraph, if disapproved. She would therefore certainly wish that the old custom of obtaining her approval before they are sent, should be resumed.

The Queen is not aware that she has ever failed in at once returning any box marked "immediate," and when she is at Windsor not even a single post need be lost by reference to her. She must also remark with respect to the despatch in question, that though dated the 9th, it was only sent from the Foreign Office on the evening of the 10th, and reached her on the 11th.

The Queen would further observe, that Lord Stanley's remark that there is "a wide difference between the expression of a personal opinion in conversation, and the formal giving of advice by the Government, etc.," does not hold good; as the moment such conversations are recorded, in official despatches supposed to have received the sanction of the Sovereign, they entirely lose their character as private and personal communications.

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 19*th Dec.* 1867.—General Grey presents his humble and most devoted duty to your Majesty.

He has shrunk with a reluctance beyond words to express, from saying anything to alarm your Majesty—and if he spoke on the subject yesterday, it was only in obedience to Mr. Hardy's opinion that he ought to do so. But in what he said yesterday, he said perhaps less than he ought to have done; for he feels that, with a view to your Majesty's safety, it is absolutely necessary that your Majesty should be under no delusion as to the designs which are harboured against your Majesty, or as to the peculiar facility which Osborne affords, in spite of the utmost watchfulness, for carrying them into execution.

Crimes such as those contemplated cannot easily be perpetrated in crowded thoroughfares, or where there is a large population; and the most unsafe places for your Majesty at this moment, are those where the population is most thin and scattered. General Grey says this with much pain and reluctance, for he knows how it will jar against your Majesty's feelings, and tend to disturb your Majesty's comfort. But he would be utterly unworthy of the confidence your Majesty has reposed in him, if he hesitated now, even at the risk of incurring your Majesty's displeasure, in saying what he believes the case for your Majesty's precious safety requires.

He shrunk yesterday from telling your Majesty the full extent of the information received with respect to the designs against your Majesty. He now sends for your Majesty's perusal the note he received from Mr. Hardy after he had seen him on Tuesday, and in answer to one that General Grey wrote to ask if he thought it necessary that your Majesty should be informed of the designs against your Majesty's person. He also sends the letter he has this morning received from Mr. Hardy, as well as one from the Duke of Buckingham, corroborating the information received at the Home Office; also one from the Duke of Cambridge enclosing an anonymous letter, evidently written in a good spirit, warning him of the designs against your Majesty, which, it is added, "they are only waiting

for *your Majesty's going to Osborne*" to attempt. This referred only to "capture." The graver design of assassination is much more difficult to guard against, and the few policemen scattered about here would be little protection against four or five determined men, reckless of their own lives, as these miscreants have shown themselves to be.

It is hard upon your Majesty, that your Majesty's peace and quiet should be disturbed by such machinations; and it is difficult to believe, where all seems so still and peaceful, that danger can lurk about the quiet woods and valleys of this island. But General Grey must repeat the expression of his honest conviction, that it is precisely in these solitary and peaceful places that real danger exists. No attempt will ever be made in the busy haunts of men, where the perpetrators of any outrage could have little chance of escape.

These clouds will, please God, pass away—but while alarm is so universally felt (General Grey wishes he could believe it to be without foundation), he would on his knees beseech your Majesty to consider whether it would not be better for your Majesty to be at Windsor.

Perhaps he is going beyond his duty in making this representation to your Majesty. But he could never know a moment's happiness, if anything occurred, and he had neglected, even, as he has said, at the risk of incurring your Majesty's displeasure, to state his honest opinion as to the danger to which your Majesty is here exposed.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to General Grey.*

OSBORNE, 19*th Dec.* 1867.—The Queen returns these letters with many thanks to General Grey. She is sorry to see him *so very much* alarmed, though she knows well from what kind and devoted motives his anxiety springs; but she thinks, while *every precaution* should be taken *here*, as *everywhere else* (and she must

repeat she thinks the danger *far greater* elsewhere), she thinks any *panic* or show of fear would be most injudicious as well as unnecessary.

The Queen does *not* intend making any difference in her intention of remaining here, as settled, and must ask *not* to have this *again* mentioned.

The Queen has given directions for additional precautions (unnecessary as she thinks them), as she feels this is *right*, and her duty to do. But the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act is the one necessary thing, and she has written *again* to Mr. Hardy this evening on the subject.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gathorne Hardy.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 19*th Dec.* 1867.—The Queen writes these lines to Mr. Hardy to ask him whether in the present state of alarm and panic, it would not be really better NOT to DELAY taking strong measures? Would it not be better to call Parliament at once together for a week, pass the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for three months, and then adjourn till the 13th February? What is the use of trying to stop these outrages without strong means to enable us to punish these horrible people? And is it right to wait till fresh outrages take place, and more innocent lives are sacrificed, before we resort to such measures?

The country cries out for protection, and the people will rally round the Government if it shows courage and energy. The Queen sends this up by a special messenger, in case it should be proposed to do anything to hasten the meeting of Parliament at to-morrow's Council.

The Queen writes this to Mr. Hardy, as she knows Lord Derby is in town, and he can at once communicate with him.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, 19*th Dec.* 1867.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that

in consequence of the present critical state of affairs, and the alarm excited in the public mind, he thought it his duty to come up to London yesterday to attend a meeting of your Majesty's servants in Downing Street to-day.

The meeting was attended by all the Ministers except Lord Malmesbury, who is abroad. They remained in deliberation nearly three hours, and very fully discussed the present situation. They considered very anxiously whether it would be their duty to apply to Parliament for increased powers for the repression of the existing conspiracy; and whether, in that case, it would be right to advise your Majesty, by Proclamation, to anticipate the date at present appointed for its meeting. And, on full reflection, they came, Lord Derby believes unanimously, to the conclusion that such a course was not desirable, and might be productive of more harm than good. Obviously the most effective instrument which could be placed in the hands of the Government would be the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act: but it appeared to your Majesty's servants very doubtful whether they would be justified by the state of the case in asking, or whether Parliament would consent to, so serious an infraction of the liberty of a whole people for the sake of punishing a few desperate conspirators. It must be borne in mind that when this measure was applied to Ireland, open rebellion was imminent, and a very large portion of the population was seriously disaffected. The loyal inhabitants were willing, and even desirous, to make a great sacrifice of their liberties for the sake of the protection which the Law afforded them. But in England the case is directly the reverse; the great mass of the people are eminently loyal, and actively hostile to the conspirators; and until all other measures have been tried and proved failures, they would hardly consent to such a sacrifice. Moreover a period of fourteen days must elapse before Parliament could meet; and, as the object of its meeting would be clearly

understood, the interval would stimulate to greater activity in their criminal designs those who might apprehend an early interference with their projects.

It must also be remembered that, before granting such powers, Parliament would insist on a full knowledge of the grounds on which they were asked for; and these could not be publicly exposed without the most serious injury, even if they were all capable, which they are not, of absolute *proof*. Even if referred, as would probably be necessary, to the investigation of a Secret Committee, much additional time would be lost before the measure could be submitted to, much more carried through, Parliament. If, too, the information which has reached the Government be correct, any general movement which is in contemplation is intended to take place before the end of the present month, before which time it would be impossible for Parliament to assemble.

It seemed therefore to your Majesty's servants desirable to confine their attention to measures of increased precaution against immediately threatened danger. Their attention has been directed in the first instance to the state of the Metropolitan Police, which is very far from satisfactory. The men are overworked and dispirited; they have not a single day's rest throughout the year; and, though for the most part they perform their ordinary duties efficiently, they are not equal to the present extraordinary demand. They are especially deficient, however, as a *detective* force, which is at this time urgently required; and steps have already been taken to supply this deficiency by a separate and secret organisation; and at the same time to diminish the pressure upon the regular force by an increase of their numbers. Your Majesty is aware that in the Metropolis the services of Special Constables have been called for and freely tendered; and it is proposed to apply the same mode of proceeding to other large towns. Steps are also about to be taken, in concert with his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief,

for rendering the services of the Military, in and about London, more immediately available in the event of incendiary fires, which appears the form of outbreak most to be apprehended.

Lord Derby had written thus far, and was about to bring under your Majesty's notice the painful and alarming reports which have been received of designs against your Majesty's person, when he received a letter from General Grey informing him that he had felt it to be his duty not to shrink from laying before your Majesty the intelligence itself, which, received in the first instance by telegram from Lord Monck, has since been confirmed in several respects from various quarters. As your Majesty will see the Duke of Buckingham to-morrow, Lord Derby abstains from detailing the measures which your Majesty's servants have taken for guarding against the particular danger thus indicated, in which moreover his Grace has taken a prominent part. It is indescribably painful to him to acknowledge even to himself that so fearful a crime should be contemplated; but disposed as he is to disregard mere rumours of such threatened atrocity against your Majesty, or your Majesty's servants (of which there have been abundance), he cannot shut his eyes to the conviction that such schemes are in serious contemplation; and that the determination of a few resolute and desperate men to effect them, at the hazard of their own lives, requires the utmost vigilance to defeat them—and even that MAY prove insufficient.

Lord Derby would hardly venture to write thus openly, if he were not aware that your Majesty is inaccessible, perhaps even, if he may be permitted to say so, too much so, to personal apprehension; but he trusts that he may be allowed, most respectfully, but most earnestly, to represent, that it is a duty which your Majesty owes to many millions of loyal subjects, not to expose to unnecessary risk a life so incalculably valuable to the country; and he cannot but concur in the opinion which he knows has

been submitted to your Majesty by General Grey, that few places could afford such facilities as Osborne, to such a design as is, he fears with too much truth, entertained. Of course as long as it is your Majesty's pleasure to remain there, every precaution that can be taken, will be taken, both by land and sea, to provide for your Majesty's safety; but Lord Derby cannot withhold the expression of his own strong opinion that that primary object could be far better secured, even in London, but still more at Windsor; and he would feel himself not only deeply responsible to public opinion, but personally criminal in his own conscience, if he shrank from submitting this view to your Majesty, unpleasing as he knows it must be. In any case Lord Derby would urge upon your Majesty, with all possible earnestness, at least so far to co-operate with those whose duty and affection alike prompt to watch over your Majesty's safety, as to limit your hours of driving out, as far as possible, to daylight; and to be accompanied by a sufficient attendance to provide against a *coup de main*. The *house* at Osborne may, by extreme care, be protected; but your Majesty's unattended late drives afford an opportunity for desperate adventurers against which no vigilance can effectually provide. . . .

Estract from the Queen's Journal.

Osborne, 20*th Dec.* 1867.—Saw the Duke of Marlborough, whom I found very nervous on account of a telegram received from Lord Monck from Canada, saying that 80 people had started in two vessels from New York, with murderous intentions against me and some members of the Government. These men intended landing in some place in the Bristol Channel. The Duke fears there may be considerable danger for the next three or four weeks, but orders have been sent to try and intercept these ships. He said he hoped I would be very cautious, that ships must watch the shore and troops be sent here. He urged on me

equally not to allow our children to go about unprotected. Then held a Council at which there was a Knighthood, and a P.C. was sworn in.

Saw the Duke of Marlborough once more, who had been talking with Lord C. FitzRoy and was reassured as to the measures which would be taken to ensure my safety. Saw Lord Charles later about it all, and discussed where the Guards should be lodged, etc. He is so kind, quiet, and calm. Walked in the afternoon with Louise to the Swiss Cottage and then drove in the woods. It is most unpleasant to feel one's liberty now so much interfered with, and every step and turn having to be calculated. Could not help feeling nervous and upset.

Prayed earnestly for help and protection in these anxious painful times.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

OSBORNE, 20*th Dec.* 1867.—The Queen thanks Lord Derby for his letter, but will not reply to it, as she has charged the Duke of Marlborough to write very fully to him, and to show him why she does *not* intend to leave Osborne. Also to explain to him how groundless his apprehensions are as to her *late and distant drives after dark*, which *never at any time* hardly take place *here*, and scarcely *ever* at Windsor, and then *never without* an Equerry riding in attendance. The Queen does *not* consider Windsor *at all safe*. And to London *nothing* will make her go, *till* the present state of affairs is *altered*.

Such precautions are taken here that the Queen will be little better than a *State* prisoner. She may consent to this for a *short time*, but she *could not* for long.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER VII

Lord Derby, who had frequently been laid aside, owing to gout, in 1867, and who had a further severe attack, from which he found it difficult to rally, in January and February 1868, resigned office towards the close of February, and was succeeded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Disraeli. The Government programme was mainly concerned with the corollaries of Reform—Reform Bills for Scotland and Ireland, a Corrupt Practices Bill, and a Boundary Bill; all of which, after more or less friction, were passed. But the Fenian crimes had forcibly directed the attention of politicians to Ireland, and the principal interest of the session turned upon Irish policy. Ministers proposed to establish a Roman Catholic University in Dublin; but Mr. Gladstone, now by Lord Russell's retirement the Leader of the Liberal party, promptly intervened with the declaration that the Church of Ireland, which only ministered to a small minority of the Irish people, must be dealt with first, and must, as an establishment, cease to exist. Mr. Disraeli, while admitting that the Irish Church was not all that could be wished, maintained that Parliament had no moral competence to deal with it without an appeal to the nation. Mr. Gladstone tabled Resolutions committing the House of Commons to his policy; and in spite of Government resistance carried, on 3rd April, the motion to go into Committee on them by a majority of 56—a majority which implied that the Liberal party were once more united. An agitation, to which Lord Russell lent his countenance, in favour of the new policy was started in London and the country; to protest against it an enthusiastic Anglican meeting, in which all parties in the English Church joined, was held in St. James's Hall. But Ministers hesitated to adopt the alternative policy, favoured by statesmen from Pitt onwards, of concurrent endowment. Mr. Gladstone pressed forward, and carried on 30th April his first and main Resolution, that the Irish Church should cease to exist as an establishment, by an increased majority of 65—330 against 265. Thereupon Mr. Disraeli advised the Queen to dissolve Parliament as soon as the public interests should permit, the

appeal being made, if possible, to the new constituency created by the Reform Act; but at the same time he told her Majesty that, if she should think it best, Ministers were ready to resign at once. The Queen refused to accept immediate resignation, but sanctioned dissolution in order that the opinion of the country might be deliberately expressed on a question which, it was admitted, could not be settled in the existing Parliament.

The Opposition made vehement and repeated attacks on Mr. Disraeli for his advice to the Queen, maintaining that his action was unconstitutional, and that he ought to have resigned at once. Ultimately, however, both the House of Commons and the country acquiesced in the Ministerial programme to pass the measures required to complete Reform, and a further measure to expedite the new electoral register, so as to make possible a General Election in November and the meeting of the new Parliament in December. Mr. Gladstone's other two Resolutions, the one suspending Irish ecclesiastical appointments, and the other praying the Queen to place her interest in the Irish temporalities at the disposal of Parliament—a prayer which was granted—were duly passed. But the Suspensory Bill, which he thereupon introduced, was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of two to one. At the General Election the enlarged constituency pronounced emphatically in favour of the Liberals, giving them a majority of about 120. In view of this decisive result, and for the convenience of public business, Mr. Disraeli and his Cabinet created a new precedent, and resigned on 1st December, instead of waiting to be ejected from office on the meeting of Parliament. The Queen sent for Mr. Gladstone, who formed a Cabinet representing all shades of the Liberal party. Only formal proceedings were taken in Parliament, which was adjourned till the middle of February.

In April the Abyssinian Expedition, commanded by Sir Robert Napier, was entirely successful. In spite of the enormous difficulties of the march, the prisoners were rescued, Magdala, Theodore's capital, was stormed and destroyed, and the King himself committed suicide—all practically without loss of life in the British force.

In the United States the long quarrel between President Johnson and Congress culminated in his impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanours by the House of Representatives

before the Senate. As the two-thirds majority, necessary to conviction, could not be obtained, the President was acquitted on all the charges. In November, General Grant was elected the next President. With regard to the *Alabama* controversy, Lord Stanley, in the House of Commons in March, expressed his readiness to consider a suggestion which Mr. Seward, the American Secretary of State, had thrown out, of a General Commission to which the claims of both countries might be referred. On these lines a convention was arranged in the autumn between Lord Stanley and Mr. Reverdy Johnson, the American Minister; and the new Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, adopted it in the winter.

In Spain, where, owing to Queen Isabella's misgovernment, insurrectionary movements had long been chronic, there was a general revolution in September, under the leadership of Marshal Serrano and General Prim, which met with very little resistance. The Queen fled to France, a Provisional Ministry was formed, the Jesuits were suppressed, and arrangements were made, towards the close of the year, for holding a Constituent Cortes.

An insurrection against the Turkish Government, which broke out in Crete, whose inhabitants were almost wholly Greek, was encouraged and supported, with little concealment, from Greece. An ultimatum, which Turkey delivered to the Greek Government, was rejected; and the Emperor Napoleon proposed at the end of the year to refer the dispute to a Conference of the Great Powers.

Queen Victoria in January made her first appearance as an author, by publishing *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands*. For the sake of her health, which had been causing her medical advisers some uneasiness, her Majesty, travelling as Countess of Kent, spent between four and five weeks in August and September at Lucerne. On 12th March the Queen's second son, Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, who was visiting Australia in the course of his naval duties, was shot in the back, near Sydney, by a Fenian, O'Farrell. The wound was serious but not fatal. O'Farrell was tried and executed, and there was a great outburst of loyalty in Australia over the Duke's fortunate escape. In April the Prince and Princess of Wales paid a ten days' visit to Dublin and the neighbourhood, on the invitation of the Viceroy, Lord Abercorn, and were received throughout with demonstrations of loyalty and affection.

CHAPTER VII

1868

Mr. Gathorne Hardy to Queen Victoria.

HOME DEPARTMENT, *6th Jan.* 1868.—Mr. Gathorne Hardy presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and having heard from the Duke of Buckingham that Lord Monck's last letter and the statement of the informer had been forwarded to your Majesty, thinks it right to confirm what would most probably be your Majesty's impression on a perusal of those documents.

The informer's story in some points was so ludicrous, especially as to Sir W. Miles and the Duke of Beaufort, as to throw discredit on the whole, even if the improbability of such an open conversation on assassination were not of itself destructive of his testimony. This afternoon a letter from the Consul at New York has been seen by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, which entirely disposes of the tale and practically proves it to be an invention.[1] . . .

The Earl of Derby to General Grey.
Private.

KNOWSLEY, *9th Jan.* 1868.— . . . Her Majesty will doubtless hear from Princess Christian what we

[1] The Queen replied from Osborne in a somewhat exultant letter, blaming Lord Monck and, in the second degree, the Government for having credited the story. "*She never*," she explains, "for one moment credited the absurd ideas of *danger* either *here* or at *Balmoral*, from the *utter impossibility* of the plans being carried out." For the text of the letter, and other correspondence about the Fenian alarms, see *Gathorne Hardy, First Earl of Cranbrook*, vol. i, ch. 13.

are doing here; but I must give myself the pleasure of saying how much we are all charmed with her Royal Highness. Nothing can be more amiable and unaffected—ready to do anything that should be done, and to be pleased with everything. Prince Arthur too is all that could be wished—very lively, good-humoured and easily pleased. He seems to enjoy his shooting, as does Prince Christian; and though, from not being used to so much of it, he made his shoulder black and blue on Tuesday, he is gone out again to-day, after a day's *relâche* at Liverpool, where, I am happy to say, the Royal Party were very well received. Their presence at the Ball to-night will give great pleasure. Yours sincerely, DERBY.

General Grey to Lord Stanley.

Private. OSBORNE, 10*th January* 1868.

MY DEAR LORD STANLEY,—In returning these letters, the Queen desires me to say that she has read that of Lord Clarendon with much interest. She thinks that he takes the plain and common-sense view of the state of things as they are, when he says that he believes a Conference, with the view of arranging the differences between Italy and the Pope, would be perfectly useless. Nor will her Majesty say that he may not be right in the suggestions he makes as to the mode of settlement of this question which is most likely to succeed. But her Majesty cannot help being somewhat surprised, that Lord Clarendon, with his official experience, and knowing the position in which an Ambassador is placed as the organ of his Government, should have written to Lord Lyons direct, giving him an account of his various interviews with Sovereigns and Ministers; making his own suggestions as to the policy which it would be for the advantage of France that she should adopt; and authorising Lord Lyons to communicate his letter to the French Minister!

It strikes the Queen that he must have forgotten that he was no longer Foreign Secretary, and that he

has sent Lord Lyons a letter which should have been more properly addressed to you!

Her Majesty is also a good deal amused at the way in which, in his conversation with Cardinal Antonelli, he speaks for the Emperor and the French Government! Indeed he seems to her, in all these visits to Ministers and Sovereigns, to have looked upon himself as the person to whom it fell to arrange all the differences between France, Italy, and the Pope. Believe me, yours very truly, C. GREY.

Lord Stanley to General Grey.

Private. FOREIGN OFFICE, 11*th January* 1868.

DEAR GENERAL GREY,—I sent Lord Clarendon's letter on to her Majesty, thinking the details it contained might be interesting. I am compelled to agree in the opinion you are directed to express, that Lord Clarendon appears to attach more importance to amateur diplomacy than the results are likely to warrant. But at any rate no harm can be done, in the present state of matters: and, as a private individual, he has a right to express any opinion, or advise any Government, where he thinks that his doing so may be of use. I ought perhaps to have stated, in fairness both to him and to Lord Lyons, that Lord Lyons asked for leave in the first instance to show his letter to M. Moustier, and that I said there could be no possible objection, provided only it were perfectly understood that Lord Clarendon spoke and wrote only in his personal capacity, and that the British Government were in no way responsible for, or concerned in, what he might say. Very truly yours, STANLEY.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

OSBORNE, 16*th Jan.* 1868.—The Queen was moved to tears on reading Mr. Martin's beautiful and too kind letter.

Indeed it is not possible for her to say *how* touched

she is by the *kindness* of *everyone*.[1] People are *too kind*. What has she done to be so loved and liked? She *did* suffer acutely last year; she will *not* deny *it*; and it made her ill, but it has *vanished* entirely and the very thought of it seems to have lost its *sting*. . . .

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

Downing Street, 6*th Feb.* 1868.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer with his humble duty to your Majesty.[2]

A very good Cabinet, and did a great deal of business.

Went through the Scotch Bill, and noted all points for the Lord Advocate, who will attend next week.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer discussed with his colleagues every possible contingency, which may occur in attempting to carry the Scotch Reform Bill, and they were unanimously of opinion, that, though it is difficult to decide on such subjects until one is in the field, the Scotch Bill will not injure the Government, and, in all probability, will benefit Scotland.

Talked over the Irish Bill, which will be ready for more formal treatment next Cabinet, which probably will be the last before the meeting of Parliament.

Had great trouble about the Parliamentary Elections Bill, that is the Bill introduced last year for transferring the jurisdiction over controverted elections from the House of Commons to Commissioners legally qualified and investigating on the spot. The Select Committee of the House, to which this Bill was referred, made it of a much stronger and [more] peremptory character; and transferred the jurisdiction, in this matter, from the Commons entirely and absolutely to the Judges of the Land.

Your Majesty's Ministers proposed a new Bill in deference to this decision and the Chancellor of the

[1] On the publication this month of *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands.*

[2] Lord Derby was laid up at Knowsley with a severe attack of gout, and Mr. Disraeli was acting for him in London.

Exchequer was to have brought it in *on the first night* of the Session, framed in this vein.

This afternoon a long and most able letter came from the Lord Chief Justice of England, written in the name, and with the unanimous consent, of all the Judges, protesting against the Bill, and giving manifold and indignant reasons why the wording of the measure was an "impossibility"; in short, the Judges struck!

This placed your Majesty's Government in a great difficulty, but they set to work, and they will recur to their original proposition, improved; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has every hope of keeping his engagement with the House of Commons, for the first night of the Session.

He assumes that a Cabinet on Tuesday will conclude all the business before the meeting of Parliament.

The Earl of Derby to General Grey.

KNOWSLEY, *6th February* 1868.

MY DEAR GREY,— . . . I am told that I am making progress, but it is very slow, and I have now little hopes of being able to be in my place at the Meeting of Parliament. I feel very painfully the inconvenience to her Majesty's service which must have been occasioned by my unavoidable absence from the Councils of my colleagues previous to the Meeting of Parliament; and the increasing frequency of my attacks must lead me to look forward to the time as not far distant when I shall be compelled to request her Majesty to relieve me from duties which I shall be no longer able to perform with credit to myself or advantage to her service. The Queen, I trust, knows me well enough to be assured that, unless under the most pressing necessity, I would not willingly desert her service in a period of difficulty. But if, within a limited time, political affairs should look smooth, I trust her Majesty will not think me ungrateful for the many marks of confidence with which she has honoured me, if I beg of her to bear in mind my earnest

desire, at the earliest time which may be consistent with her Majesty's service, to transfer to younger hands the duties which I feel that increasing infirmity will not much longer allow my efficiently discharging.

I have requested the Chancellor of the Exchequer (I am sure unnecessarily) to keep the Queen *au courant* of the deliberations of her Servants, and of the measures which they propose to submit to Parliament. I am, dear Grey, yours very sincerely, DERBY.

General Grey to the Earl of Derby.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, *8th February* 1868.

MY DEAR LORD DERBY,—I sent your letter up to the Queen yesterday afternoon, as soon as I received it. . . .

Her Majesty was much grieved at the account you give of your own health; and shrinks from the possibility, which you foreshadow, of your being compelled, at no distant date, to give up your present position in her Majesty's service. You do not require to be told of the value and importance which the Queen attaches to your continuance at the head of her Administration; and it would be with extreme reluctance that she would consent to give up the comfort and support she has hitherto found in your being there. Still, her Majesty feels that you have a right, for the sake of your family, to consider what may be necessary for your health, and if that suffer, as she fears it may, from the cares and anxieties inseparable from your high Office, she could not ask you to continue in it a moment longer than you should yourself believe you could do so without injury. But her Majesty would fain hope that that time may yet be postponed, at all events for another Session. Your name is a tower of strength to your party, and Mr. Disraeli will have much more power to direct and control the course of Government, and of its supporters, when backed by your authority, than he could possibly have without it. He has kept the Queen well informed of all that has passed in the

various Cabinets, and she thinks, while he has you to fall back upon in case of necessity, that you may safely leave it to him to take the labouring oar in the conduct of the Government, sparing yourself, as far as it is possible to do so, the worries and anxieties which are, at all times, inseparable from the office of Prime Minister, and which, she fears, in the present state of affairs, and of parties, will still press upon you, whatever you can do, with more severity than she could wish.

For the moment, however, her Majesty trusts that you will give your whole care to the restoration of your health; that you will not think of hurrying to London till you are quite fit to travel; and that you will give yourself the full advantage of the breathing time that is always allowed, after the Meeting of Parliament, before the battles of the Session begin in earnest.—C. GREY.

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

13*th Feb.* 1868.—General Grey with his humble duty, begs to inform your Majesty that he saw Mr. Disraeli yesterday, who entered very freely and unreservedly into the present position and prospects of the Government.

Of these, notwithstanding Lord Derby's illness, he takes the most sanguine view; and said he did not know that the Government was ever more united, or the party more cordial in its support than at the present moment; nor did he anticipate any difficulty in the Reform Bills, believing that the wish of the Opposition was not to turn the Government out at present.

General Grey then alluded to the article in *The Times*,[1] on the necessity of a "reconstruction" of the Government—owing to Lord Derby's illness—and the impression that seemed generally to exist that he meant to retire; and asked how this would affect the Government and the party. He answered

[1] On 11th February.

that this was a subject on which it was more difficult for him to say a word than anyone else; as the direction of affairs having fallen very much upon himself during Lord Derby's illness, it might be thought he was looking to succeed him; and he could say for himself (and this is certainly perfectly true) he had always acted most loyally towards Lord Derby in his unfortunate absence.

No inconvenience had hitherto arisen from it. The position of the Government had even been strengthened during the last week. But he could not shut his eyes to the fact that questions might arise, when Parliament met, which would make a reference to the Prime Minister at a distance-very inconvenient, and he believed that even in the event of Lord Derby's retirement the Cabinet would still act cordially together; and that an arrangement might even be possible to gain additional strength in the House of Lords. Lord Derby's retirement, however, if it could [not] be avoided, would be a great misfortune, for the Opposition, which was now inclined to be quiet, might very likely break out into more violent action. This difficulty must, however, be faced; for he admitted that, since the article in *The Times* of Tuesday, and similar notices in other papers, the question of the position of the Government was very likely to be brought forward. All this, however, was for Lord Derby himself, and no one else in the Government, to consider. They had a clear line before them, and he did not anticipate any great difficulty in pursuing it. . . .

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 20*th Feb.* 1868.—General Grey has had a long and *most* satisfactory conversation with the Duke of Richmond, as far as the Duke is himself personally concerned. His sole object will be, should Lord Derby unfortunately be forced to retire, to keep the Government together; nor would he himself object for one moment to serve under Mr. Disraeli. . . .

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

KNOWSLEY, 21*st Feb.* 1868.—Lord Derby with his humble duty submits to your Majesty that, when last he had the honour of addressing your Majesty, he had hoped to have been enabled, in accordance with the wish so graciously expressed by your Majesty, to continue to discharge, at least during the present Session, the duties of the high office which your Majesty has been pleased to entrust to him. But his late severe attack, following upon five weeks' confinement to his bed, has disclosed a state of health which leaves him no alternative but that of soliciting permission to lay at your Majesty's feet an office, the duties of which he feels that he is unable longer to fulfil. It is with sincere sorrow that he feels himself compelled to ask permission to retire from the service of a Sovereign to whose constant support, still more to whose personal confidence, he owes a debt of gratitude which he can never repay. But, while his medical attendants speak in confidence of his ultimate recovery, they are equally unanimous in declaring, not only that he must not hope to remove from hence for three weeks or a month, but that during the remainder of his life, if he desires to enjoy a moderate amount of health, constant care will be requisite, and for several months at least a total rest both of mind and body, quite incompatible with the cares and anxieties of official life.

Lord Derby greatly regrets the inconvenience to which he knows that his retirement must subject the public service, and the additional trouble which it must entail upon your Majesty. But he has reason to believe that, the fact of his retirement being once understood, there would be no pressure from any quarter for the immediate and formal resignation of his office, perhaps not until he should be enabled to surrender it to your Majesty in person. In the meantime, if he may be permitted to offer any suggestion to your Majesty as to his successor, he would

venture to submit that, as there is no question of any political change, your Majesty should apply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has held the most important, and, next to his own, the most prominent post in the present Government. Lord Derby believes that, although with a deep sense of the responsibility attaching to it, he would not shrink from undertaking the duty; and that he, and he only, could command the cordial support, *en masse*, of his present colleagues. Lord Derby is not sanguine enough to believe that the Government, so constituted, could be relied upon for any permanent tenure of office, but he believes that at the present moment no fusion of Parties is possible, and that the arrangement which he suggests is that which affords the best prospect of tiding over the remainder of the present Parliament.

If Lord Derby has been so fortunate as in any degree to merit your Majesty's approval, he would venture to hope that, before finally retiring from your Majesty's service, he may be permitted to submit, for the honour of the Peerage, the names of four or five gentlemen, of station and property in the country, to whom he is indebted for long-continued and faithful political support. He would be very unwilling unduly to add to the number of the Peerage, but during the past year no less than four titles, those of Pomfret, Kingsdown, Llanover, and Keith, have become extinct, and several more must shortly become so, Lords Broughton and Wensleydale, for example, being considerably past eighty and without any successor. Lord Derby abstains, until he shall have received your Majesty's gracious approval, from specifying the names of those whom he would recommend for this mark of your Majesty's favour. He trusts that your Majesty will excuse the necessity he is under, of dictating the present letter,[1] and that he may be permitted, in conclusion, though he hopes that it is unnecessary, to express his unbounded

[1] It was written by Lady Derby.

gratitude for all your Majesty's great kindness, and his devoted and unalterable loyalty and attachment to your Majesty's person.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 22*nd Feb.* 1868.—The Queen has just received Lord Derby's (dictated) letter, and hastens to acknowledge it, though she purposes to answer him more fully to-morrow or Monday. Lord Derby's decision has not surprised the Queen, though she is *deeply* grieved at the necessity he feels himself under of resigning his office. He is bound to take all the care of his health that he can, for the sake of his devoted wife and his children, and of his friends, amongst whom she considers herself. Though no longer in her service his advice will be still most valuable to his Sovereign.

Most truly does the Queen rejoice to hear of his satisfactory progress.

The Queen cannot conclude without again expressing her *great* regret at the loss of Lord Derby's valuable services.

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S PALACE, 24*th Feb.* 1868 (12.35 *p.m.*).—General Grey, with his humble duty, begs to inform your Majesty, that he is just returned from having a long conversation with Mr. Disraeli. The result of this is that, by Mr. Disraeli's wish, he remains in London in order to see him again this evening, after he shall have communicated with his colleagues, and he therefore sends the messenger down as your Majesty commanded.

Lord Derby had written to Mr. Disraeli two days before he wrote to your Majesty, to state the necessity he felt himself under of tendering his resignation to your Majesty, and which he only delayed doing till he had heard from Mr. Disraeli whether he would be

willing to undertake the Government if offered to him by your Majesty, and promising him his most strenuous support out of office. Mr. Disraeli answered at once to say he should place himself unreservedly at your Majesty's disposal; but though Lord Derby said he would write again, he has not done so, and Mr. Disraeli now finds him[self] considerably embarrassed by the paragraph in Lord Derby's letter to your Majesty, saying that if his "retirement is once understood," no party he believed would press for his immediate "formal resignation of his post, etc." The effect of this is, as Mr. Disraeli views it, to shut his mouth in the House of Commons, and to prevent his making the announcement which it was so desirable that he should make *to-night*; in order to be able to adjourn the Houses till Thursday, and so to prevent a debate on Ireland in the House of Lords, which, till he has got more strength there, it is *most* desirable to avoid. Unless he acts with Lord Derby's express sanction, he would run the risk of indisposing Lord Derby's friends, by appearing to act hastily and unhandsomely towards him, yet, whatever arrangement is made, he thinks it most desirable that it should take effect at once. Nor is there any effectual way of giving Lord Derby's retirement to be "understood," but by the public announcement in Parliament.

General Grey advised his telegraphing to Lord Derby for his sanction to that course, and when he came away he had sent for Lord Stanley to consult with him what was best to be done. General Grey offered to go back at once to Osborne, with his request that your Majesty would write to Lord Derby, but this would not be in time, as the debate comes off to-morrow.

General Grey then suggested another course. That he should announce being summoned to Osborne by your Majesty, in consequence of a communication your Majesty had received from Lord Derby, and that he proposed going to-morrow, and as his return must

be uncertain, that he must ask the House to adjourn till Thursday. This, General Grey thinks, he will determine upon, should the communication with Lord Derby be unsatisfactory.

He seems quite confident of all his colleagues except Lord Malmesbury and Mr. Walpole. With the latter, a word from your Majesty would be all powerful; and he will let General Grey know this afternoon, whether he should call upon him or not. About Lord Malmesbury, he is not so anxious. What is important is, that they should get strength in the House of Lords, and this can only be done by putting Lord Cairns on the Woolsack; and Lord M.'s retirement would leave the Privy Seal open for Lord Chelmsford. However, the latter is prepared for the proposal. For, when he was made Chancellor, when the Government came in, Lord Derby explained to him that his wish was to place Lord Cairns on the Woolsack; and it was understood that he (Lord Chelmsford) should only remain there for the first Session.

General Grey found Mr. Disraeli very cordial; and *most* practical in all he said; going straight to the point, and showing a most sincere desire to do *nothing* that could look presumptuous on his part, or unhandsome towards Lord Derby. He did not think there was a chance of the latter retaining his situation as a Cabinet Minister without office, and is prepared to suggest to your Majesty the separation of the First Lord from the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The increase of business in the House makes it impossible for him to do both.

All he would suggest, in your Majesty's writing to Lord Derby, is that your Majesty should express the opinion that the sooner the change was definitely settled, the better for the public service; and to urge Lord Derby to continue in the Government without office.

General Grey must beg your Majesty's indulgence to any mistakes in this report; which he has not even time to read over again.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

24*th Feb.* 1868.—The Queen sent General Grey yesterday up to town to communicate with Mr. Disraeli, and inform him of Lord Derby's communication to her, and of her wish that he should undertake the arduous post of successor to Lord Derby. This he has accepted, relying on Lord Derby's kind promise of support, as well as on that of his colleagues. But the Queen thinks it absolutely necessary for the strength of the Government, to enable Mr. Disraeli to conduct it with any chance of success, that there should be no delay in Mr. Disraeli's actually assuming the reins of Government; and she must therefore, painful as it is to us both, ask him [Lord Derby] not to wait till he feels equal to do so in person, which must be uncertain, but let her accept his resignation now in writing.

The Queen wishes, however, to make Lord Derby an offer, which she trusts he will be able to accept, which is that he should have a seat in the Cabinet without an office, as the Duke of Wellington had. His presence, whenever he felt equal to it, and his advice would be most valuable to his colleagues as well as to his Sovereign.

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

25*th Feb.* 1868.—General Grey, with his humble duty, has now to inform your Majesty of all he has just heard from Mr. Disraeli. He showed him your Majesty's letter to Lord Derby, which was most gratifying to him as a proof of the support that he may expect from your Majesty—and he gave General Grey to read the letter he had himself received this morning from Lord Derby, of which General Grey sends your Majesty a copy.

From this it appears that the "few days" for which Lord Derby asked, and which puzzled everyone, were solely with the view of being able to communicate, as Minister, to those whom he wished to

recommend to your Majesty for Peerages, the consent of your Majesty to confer those honours. Mr. Disraeli is himself ignorant who the persons are, but evidently wishes your Majesty to gratify Lord Derby in this matter. General Grey explained to him that your Majesty's only doubt was of setting a precedent, that might in future be inconvenient, of allowing every outgoing Minister to recommend a certain number of friends for the Peerage—a favour which, as Lord Derby himself knew, your Majesty had refused to Lord Russell when he last left office. Mr. Disraeli said these Peerages were not asked so much, as he believed, on the score of friendship and general political support, as of services rendered in supporting the Government through the Reform difficulty. General Grey rejoined to this that, in that case, the natural time to confer them would be when the Reform measures were completed; and this Mr. Disraeli said had been the intention but for Lord Derby's enforced retirement. General Grey then suggested that Lord Derby might be empowered to announce your Majesty's intention to confer these honours, but that the actual creation might be postponed, in which arrangement Mr. Disraeli said he could see no inconvenience.

General Grey would therefore venture humbly to suggest that your Majesty might write to Lord Derby to express your Majesty's readiness to comply with his wishes, on learning the names of those to whom he would recommend Peerages to be given; but that Lord Derby must himself be aware of the objection your Majesty had expressed on a former occasion, to establishing an inconvenient precedent by allowing a retiring Minister to recommend several friends for Peerages, and that therefore your Majesty left it to Lord Derby himself to decide, whether it might not be better, while he should be the person to announce the intended honours as conferred at his request, that the actual creation should be postponed.

Now, with regard to Mr. Disraeli's arrangements.

While they were in doubt and suspense as to the meaning of the telegram from Lord Derby, he felt it impossible to speak to his colleagues. Mr. Walpole, for instance, might have been in possession of a confidential communication from Lord Derby, and he (Mr. Disraeli) was afraid of saying what might prove not to be strictly in accordance with that communication. He now proposes to see his colleagues without delay, and at his particular request General Grey has agreed to stay in London; and having besides the cypher with him, there may be convenience in his doing so, in order to communicate direct with your Majesty. He will therefore hold himself entirely at Mr. Disraeli's commands, to see Mr. Walpole or any other Minister with whom he may think a communication from your Majesty may have effect. . . .

General Grey hopes he has done as your Majesty would wish in consenting to remain in London. But when Mr. Disraeli said "it was the greatest favour" he could do him, he felt your Majesty would not wish him to refuse.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

KNOWSLEY, *25th Feb.* 1868.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt, this afternoon, of the command contained in your Majesty's letter of yesterday, in obedience to which he cannot hesitate in laying at your Majesty's feet his instant resignation of the office which, by your Majesty's favour, he has hitherto held. He had hoped, before doing so, to have been honoured by some notice of the humble request which he preferred to your Majesty in his letter of Friday last, that he might be permitted to recommend to your Majesty, for the honour of the Peerage, some few gentlemen whose political support has been of the greatest value to the Government; and he cannot conceal from your Majesty that he feels deeply his inability, before

retiring from office, thus to recognise the claims of gentlemen to whom he is under public and personal obligation.

Lord Derby is grateful for the wish expressed by your Majesty that he should continue to retain a seat in the Cabinet. He trusts, however, that he shall be forgiven if he begs most respectfully to be permitted to decline undertaking such a position. Independently of all other considerations, he had the honour of submitting to your Majesty that his medical attendants insisted, as indispensable to the restoration of his health, upon perfect rest of mind and body, and absence of all political anxiety, which it would be impossible for him to obtain as long as he had the responsibility, though without office, of being one of your Majesty's confidential servants. At the same time, your Majesty may rest assured that, out of office, such support as his personal influence may enable him to give, shall be given as freely and readily to the Government of Mr. Disraeli as if he still had the honour of officially serving your Majesty.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

OSBORNE, *25th Feb.* 1868.—The Queen writes again to Lord Derby to-day on the subject of the Peerages, which he expressed a wish to propose to the Queen to grant on the occasion of his retirement from office.

The Queen will be ready to comply with Lord Derby's wishes on learning the names of those to whom he would recommend Peerages to be given, but he must himself be aware of the objection she had expressed on a former occasion (viz. on Lord Russell's resignation) to establishing an inconvenient precedent by allowing a retiring Minister to recommend several friends for Peerages.

Therefore the Queen leaves it to Lord Derby himself to decide, whether it might not be better, while he should be the person to announce the in-

tended honours as conferred at his request, that the actual creation should be postponed.

The Queen rejoices to hear Lord Derby continues to improve. Prince Leopold is going on most satisfactorily.[1]

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

Downing Street, 26*th Feb.* 1868 (12 *o'clock*).—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

He ventures to express his sense of your Majesty's most gracious kindness to him, and of the high honour, which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer on him.

He can only offer devotion.

It will be his delight and duty, to render the transaction of affairs as easy to your Majesty, as possible; and in smaller matters he hopes he may succeed in this; but he ventures to trust, that, in the great affairs of state, your Majesty will deign not to withhold from him the benefit of your Majesty's guidance.

Your Majesty's life has been passed in constant communion with great men, and the knowledge and management of important transactions. Even if your Majesty were not gifted with those great abilities, which all now acknowledge, this rare and choice experience must give your Majesty an advantage in judgment, which few living persons, and probably no living Prince, can rival.

He, whom your Majesty has so highly preferred, presumes to trust to your Majesty's condescension in this behalf.

Mr. Disraeli proposes to have the honour of waiting on your Majesty to-morrow (Thursday) afternoon.

General Grey has gone to Ealing this morning to see Mr. Walpole, who, last night, though very kind, wished to "consider" the proposition Mr. Disraeli made him.

[1] This and the preceding letter crossed in the post.

As General Grey says this must go by an immediate train, Mr. Disraeli will write fuller by post.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

OSBORNE, 26*th Feb.* 1868.—The Queen thanks Mr. Disraeli very much for his kind letter received to-day, and can assure him of her cordial support in the arduous task which he has undertaken. It must be a proud moment for him to feel that his own talent and successful labours in the service of his country have earned for him the high and *influential* position in which he is now placed.

The Queen has ever found Mr. Disraeli most zealous in her service, and most ready to meet her wishes, and she only wishes her beloved husband were here now to assist him with his guidance.

The Queen rejoices to see how much unanimity he has found amongst his colleagues. She will be glad to see him to-morrow, but does not ask him to stay over-night, as she knows how precious every moment must be to him.

The Queen would ask him to telegraph at what hour she may expect him.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 26*th Feb.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

All his late colleagues, except Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Walpole, have placed their services at your Majesty's commands, and, at present, he contemplates recommending your Majesty to allot to them the same offices which they previously filled.

His difficulty, at this moment, is the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. The business of that office, with a declining revenue, increased expenditure, and a heavy budget impending, would be too much for him to attempt to execute.

Sir Stafford Northcote would make a Chancellor of Exchequer that would inspire confidence and satisfy

everyone; but it would be unwise to take him from the India Office, which he has mastered, especially with all the threads of the Abyssinian affairs in his hands.

Although Mr. Disraeli is aware that your Majesty is naturally disinclined to the entrance of strangers into your Majesty's service, he is nevertheless much inclined to bring before your Majesty the claims of Mr. Ward Hunt, the present Secretary of the Treasury, to the post. Mr. Disraeli would be much mistaken if Mr. Ward Hunt would not prove a very distinguished Minister of Finance. He is a gentleman by birth, and Member for his County of Northampton, but being a younger son, who succeeded to the estate by the unexpected death of his brother, has had the advantage of a legal training for the Bar.

Mr. Disraeli ought to observe to your Majesty, that Mr. Ward Hunt's appearance is rather remarkable, but anything but displeasing. He is more than six feet four inches in stature, but does not look so tall from his proportionate breadth; like St. Peter's, no one is at first aware of his dimensions. But he has the sagacity of the elephant, as well as the form. The most simple, straightforward, and truthful man Mr. Disraeli ever met; and of a very pleasing and amiable expression of countenance.

He has gained golden opinions in the execution of his office, as Secretary of the Treasury, and is so popular in the House of Commons, that the Opposition even intimated recently that, if a new Speaker were required, they were not disinclined to consider Mr. Ward Hunt's claims.

This trait will convey to your Majesty the thorough respectability, even the high consideration, in which Mr. Hunt is held. He is a Christ Church man, and not much more than forty years of age, though from his form apparently much older.

Mr. Disraeli feels great confidence in Mr. Hunt, but of course is not insensible to the responsibility of recommending so great a promotion. He has written

at this length, because, if, after still further deliberation, he ventures to recommend Mr. Hunt to your Majesty's consideration, he thought your Majesty would like to know something about a new servant.

Lord Cairns has accepted Mr. Disraeli's offer to recommend him to your Majesty for the custody of the Great Seal.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 29*th Feb.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

Lord Chelmsford seems already to find that he is rather in the wrong,[1] and his visit to-day will not, therefore, be embarrassing. He has appealed for facts to Knowsley, and the decision has been against him.

His letter is candid and apologetical, but Mr. Disraeli thinks that some misapprehensions should still be noticed, and he has written a short and friendly reply, which will meet Lord Chelmsford on his arrival.

He encloses the correspondence[2] for your Majesty's approval and approbation, if indeed your Majesty has time, or taste, to attend to such little matters. He would not have presumed to do so, had not your Majesty yesterday deigned to refer to the circumstances.

10 DOWNING STREET, 2*nd March* 1868.— . . . Lord Chelmsford declines the distinction[3] your Majesty graciously conferred on him, and wishes to be made, like Lord Eldon and Lord Cottenham, an Earl! Lord Eldon was Chancellor twenty years; Lord Cottenham, a very doubtful promotion, had at least inherited two large family fortunes, and was very rich.

[1] Lord Chelmsford, the Lord Chancellor, had protested against being asked to resign in accordance with the arrangement mentioned above, p. 500, and refused to believe that Lord Derby still contemplated a change on the Woolsack. But Lord Derby, on appeal, confirmed Mr. Disraeli's statement.

[2] For this correspondence, see *Life of Disraeli*, vol. iv, ch. 16.

[3] G.C.B.

It seems impossible that your Majesty can entertain such preposterous claims. . . .

Lord Derby's Ministry at the time of his resignation.		Mr. Disraeli's Ministry.
Earl of Derby	*First Lord of the Treasury*	B. Disraeli
Lord Chelmsford	*Lord Chancellor*	Lord Cairns
Duke of Marlborough	*Lord President of the Council*	Duke of Marlborough
Earl of Malmesbury	*Lord Privy Seal*	Earl of Malmesbury
Gathorne Hardy	*Home Secretary*	Gathorne Hardy
Lord Stanley	*Foreign Secretary*	Lord Stanley
Duke of Buckingham	*Colonial Secretary*	Duke of Buckingham
Sir John Parington	*War Secretary*	Sir John Pakington
Sir Stafford Northcote	*Indian Secretary*	Sir Stafford Northcote
B. Disraeli	*Chancellor of the Exchequer*	G. Ward Hunt
H. J. Lowry Corry	*First Lord of the Admiralty*	H. J. Lowry Corry
Spencer H. Walpole	(*without office*)	
Duke of Richmond	*President of the Board of Trade*	Duke of Richmond
Lord John Manners	*First Commissioner of Works*	Lord John Manners
Earl of Mayo	*Chief Secretary for Ireland*	Earl of Mayo

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, *4th Mar.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

The Cabinet was occupied almost entirely on Monday and Tuesday with the consideration of their Irish policy.

The subject divided itself under four heads: Material improvement of the country, The Land question, The Education question, The Church question.

These were the results. With respect to the first, the Report of the Commission on Irish Railways might be immediately expected, and would probably lead to an extensive measure, affecting beneficially every part of the country.

2. Education. As a Royal Commission was now pursuing its enquiries on Primary Education, their report must be sent in before that branch of the

subject could be considered; but the Cabinet were prepared to recommend a charter to a Roman Catholic University, provided the governing body contained such a decided lay representation as would prevent its being a mere sacerdotal institution.

Lord Derby had already given in his adhesion to this scheme of Lord Mayo, not as the best, but the only, practicable solution of the question. "It is doubtful whether the R.C. Prelates will accept our offer.[1] If they do not, upon them will rest the responsibility of rejecting fair and liberal terms. If they do, I think our Protestant friends will acquiesce for fear of sanctioning worse."—*Letter of Lord Derby to-day.*

An application has been made by a deputation of R.C. Prelates from Ireland to Mr. Disraeli to enter into negotiations on the measure before it is introduced to Parliament; but he has declined this offer, though with much courtesy, and expressing his wish, after the proposition has been made public, to listen considerately to any criticism and suggestions made by the Prelates.

The truth is the House of Commons will receive with prejudice the measure, if the first confidence is not made to itself.

Then, as to the land, the Cabinet resolved to bring in a Land Bill, which should treat all those points, on which there is now a great concurrence of opinion; and with respect to the others, they will propose another Devon Commission, confident that its investigations will authoritatively and authentically dissipate many errors that now exist, and throw a great and beneficial light on the condition of the country.

The famine, and the emigration, have occurred *since* the Devon Commission; and their results must be placed powerfully before public opinion.

With regard to the Church, the Government will show by an analysis of the propositions, that neither the plan of Lord Russell, nor the scheme of the pure voluntaries, is a *practical* proposition; and what is

[1] They did not accept, and the measure was given up.

wanted for Ireland is something that can be done, not something that can be said.

There is no conceivable combination of existing parties that could disendow the Established Church, in order to endow the Roman Catholic, which virtually is the proposition of Lord Russell; nor is it easy to imagine that a measure of general disendowment, seizing the Church estate, Maynooth, and *Regium Donum*, could for a moment be sanctioned.

There remains a third course, which is no doubt *practical*, though public opinion upon it is by no means settled or mature; that is, some provision for the clergy, both Presbyterian and Roman Catholic, that are not endowed.

Though a majority of Parliament may be in favour of this principle (and that is doubtful), the varieties of manner in which the principle may be applied are multiform—whether an endowment of salaries; whether of glebes and houses, etc.

But the question arises, whether so grave an issue, and one so novel in its character, ought to be submitted to the last Session of a Parliament elected under the old constituency: whether it be not one that the larger verdict of the new constituency should not be taken on; whether, if that were neglected, and some settlement now made, the new constituency might not evince a very just dissatisfaction, and demand, even at the approaching hustings, that the issue should be re-opened.

Your Majesty's Government therefore are of opinion, that without declaring any uncompromising hostility to any of these plans of dealing with the revenues of the Church, they may with honour, and they hope security, relegate the whole question to the decision of the new Parliament.

General Grey to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, *5th March* 1868.

MY DEAR DISRAELI,—The Queen desires me to thank you very much for your letter, and the very

clear explanation it contains of the view taken by the Government of the important subjects which make up the Irish question.

You rightly, as it seems to her Majesty, consider not only what it might be desirable, but also what it may be possible to do. And if approached on all sides in the same spirit, she would fain hope that this question—difficult as it is—may not be found insoluble.—C. GREY.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *5th Mar.* 1868 (*Thursday night*).—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

He made a statement this evening on taking his seat, which was very guarded, and, in that respect, so successful, that it prevented all discussion. At least, the leader of the Opposition was silent.

Mr. Bouverie, a discontented Whig, opened a little, but hurt his own friends more than your Majesty's Government. After accusing them of governing the country with a minority, he said the Opposition, with their superior numbers, were a "rabble" with "leaders who would not lead, and followers who would not follow." Mr. Disraeli did not think it necessary to refute these assertions.

Wild rumours are about of the Opposition consolidating on an abstract resolution respecting the Irish Church; but the time has gone by for Ministries to be subverted by abstract resolutions.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, *6th Mar.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

He encloses a letter received from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,[1] on the subject of a visit to that country of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Mr. Disraeli would humbly observe, that, should

[1] 2nd Marquis of Abercorn, created later in the year, on Mr. Disraeli's recommendation, 1st Duke of Abercorn in the peerage of Ireland.

your Majesty approve of his Excellency's suggestion being carried into effect, the consequences, in his opinion, would be highly advantageous.

The moment is very suitable, and to seize the *à propos* is generally wise.

There is no doubt a great yearning in Ireland for the occasional presence and inspiration of Royalty.

Mr. Disraeli would venture to observe that, during two centuries, the Sovereign has only passed twenty-one days in Ireland.

If your Majesty approved the suggestion, his Royal Highness, from whom a visit of a week is only now contemplated, might make a longer visit later in the year, hunt, for example, in the counties of Kildare and Meath, and occupy some suitable residence, about which Mr. Disraeli believes there would be no difficulty.

This would, in a certain degree, combine the fulfilment of public duty with pastime, a combination which befits a princely life.

Queen Victoria to General Grey.

[*Copy.*]

Windsor Castle, *7th Mar.* 1868.—The Queen has this moment received this letter from Mr. Disraeli. Lord Abercorn's letter is very proper, and the Queen would have no objection to the Prince of Wales's going. But she *entirely* objects to the latter part of Mr. Disraeli's letter; and General Grey knows well enough her grounds for doing so.

In the first place, every other part of the Queen's dominions—Wales, and the Colonies even, might get up pretensions for residence, which are out of the question; and this she is most anxious General Grey should fully explain to Mr. Disraeli. And in the Prince of Wales's case, *any encouragement* of his constant love of running about, and not keeping at home, or near the Queen, is *most earnestly* and *seriously* to be deprecated.

But if the Irish behave properly, the Queen would

readily send, from time to time, other Members of her family (and she particularly wishes the Prince of Wales *not* to be the *only* one)—for instance, Prince Arthur (who is *called* Patrick) and Prince and Princess Christian, etc. But with THIS understanding, that the *expenses* of these Royal visits *should be borne by* the Government, who press them *constantly* (and most annoyingly) on the Queen; and which are solely for political purposes.

For health and relaxation, no one would go to Ireland, and people only go who have their estates to attend to. But for health and relaxation thousands go to Scotland.

Pray let this question be thoroughly understood, and let the Queen have a copy of this letter and of Lord Abercorn's.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, *9th March* 1868.

DEAR BERTIE,—I have heard from Mr. Disraeli on the subject of your going to Ireland, and, as the Government seem to wish it so much, and to think that it will do so much good, I will naturally sanction it. But I *much regret* that the occasion chosen should be "*Races*,"[1] as it naturally strengthens the belief, already far too prevalent, that your chief object is amusement; and races have become so bad of late, and the connection with them has ruined so many young men, and broken the hearts thereby of so many fond and kind parents, that I am especially anxious you should not sanction or encourage them.

Since I began this, I have heard of the great wish entertained that you should receive the order of St. Patrick, and that you should be installed in Dublin as a Knight. I shall have much pleasure in giving you the Order, and think that your going over to Dublin to be installed there, should be the occasion for your going there, and NOT the *Races*, which should only come in as an incident.

[1] See the following letter, the Prince's reply.

I sincerely hope that the Irish Government are *right* in thinking that you are quite safe in going over there.—V. R.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 11*th March* 1868.

MY DEAR MAMA,—Many thanks for your letter, which I was unable to answer yesterday, and I am very glad that you approve of my going to Ireland next month, as I think the Government are very anxious that I should do so, and Lord Abercorn especially very strongly urges it, and of course it would be a great satisfaction to me to think that I could in any small way strengthen the Crown and Government with regard to the Irish question. But I am very anxious, dear Mama, that you should fully understand that I do not go there at all for my amusement, but as a duty, and shall be ready to do anything that is required of me when I am there. With regard to the Punchestown Races, I am anxious to explain that the reason why I mentioned them was that both Lord Mayo and Lord Hamilton were very anxious that I should go there, because such a large concourse of people would be gathered together from all parts of the country, who look upon those Races as a kind of annual national festival, and would have a better opportunity of seeing me there than at Dublin, and give them an occasion to display their loyalty to you and our family, if (as it is to be hoped) such a feeling exists. But I quite agree with you that it would not look well, if it were stated to the public that the only object of my visit to Ireland was on account of the Races. It is very kind of you to give me the Order of St. Patrick, which of course I shall only be too happy to receive, and be installed a Knight in the Cathedral as proposed. I only wish that dear Alix could also accompany me,[1] as it would add so much

[1] The Princess did eventually accompany the Prince to Ireland. See below, pp. 522–3.

to the success of the visit. . . . Your dutiful and affectionate son, BERTIE.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 12*th Mar.* 1868.—Shortly after three held a Drawing-room. Dear Alix was there, and able to stand through it. Lenchen and Louise, both looking very nice, George C. and Mary and Franz Teck were also present. It only lasted little more than half an hour.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *Tuesday morning* [17*th Mar.* 1868], 2 *o'clock a.m.*—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

Debate closed; a great night: Mr. Gladstone announced his intention of bringing forward a motion for the abolition of the Irish Church. Mr. Disraeli replied: he said it was too grave a question to be decided without the opinion of the nation being taken. The Opposition, who had always been in power, had not prepared the mind of the country for a social revolution: for it involved the whole question of Ecclesiastical endowment.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 23*rd Mar.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone gave his notice this evening: an uncompromising, violent, and elaborate proposition. On Monday next he will move for a Committee on the Irish Church, or rather, that the whole House should go into Committee on that subject: an ancient and necessary form, when matters of trade and religion are treated in the House of Commons.

This doubtless will be opposed, and the debate on this will probably occupy the week before the holidays; so that, if Mr. Gladstone succeed, it will be about the end of April that the whole House in

Committee will have to consider his three propositions. In brief, these :

1. That the Irish Church shall be instantly disestablished.

2. Would declare virtually that the Church should be gradually disendowed.

The third and most violent resolution is an Address to the Crown, praying your Majesty to place at the disposal of Parliament your Majesty's interest in the temporalities of the Church.

Mr. Disraeli cannot say at present whether there be any precedent for such a dealing with the prerogative, but, if so, it must be in the time of the Long Parliament.

Mr. Gladstone's propositions were received with " loud cheering " by all those " below the gangway " : that is, those whom we describe as Radicals, Romanists, and especially Voluntaries : but the great bulk of gentlemen behind him, on well-filled benches, were cold and silent. These were the Whigs.

Mr. Disraeli has called a Cabinet to-morrow at twelve o'clock, to consider the course of your Majesty's servants.

Mr. Disraeli cannot conceal from himself that we are embarking on stormy waters, and that a very serious political season is setting in : but he believes that, with courage and prudence, all danger may be averted : and not only that, but great and permanent good accomplished.

He thinks that Mr. Gladstone has mistaken the spirit of the times, and the temper of the country. The abhorrence of Popery, the dread of Ritualism, and the hatred of the Irish, have long been smouldering in the mind of the nation. They will seize, Mr. Disraeli thinks, the opportunity long sighed for and now offered, to vent their accumulated passion.

The Irish Church was odious thirty years ago in a calm, philosophical, and utilitarian age, but the present age shrinks from any of these epithets. There is no Free Trade controversy, no Reform struggles, to

absorb the energies, or excite the passions of the people: the religious sentiment will develop itself, which is very natural to the people of this country; and all the mechanical calculations and organisations of mere political parties will be baffled by the violent instinct of the multitude.

In the Boroughs there will be revived, with terrible earnestness, the no Popery cry: in the Counties, the clergy and gentry will rally round the sacred and time-honoured principle of Church and State.

It is, perhaps, providential, that this religious controversy should have arisen to give a colour to the character, and a form to the action, of the newly enfranchised constituencies.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

24*th Mar.* 1868.—The Queen has read Mr. Disraeli's account of Mr. Gladstone's proposed resolutions, with the deepest concern.

She fears there is too much truth in what Mr. Disraeli says of the spirit that may possibly be excited amongst the Protestants of the three Kingdoms, and of the danger that exists of those old cries being revived, which, in the name of religion, have worked evils which successive Governments have so long tried in vain to remedy.

Mr. Gladstone must be aware that the chief difficulty in governing Ireland has always been to restrain the mutual violence of the old Orange Party on the one hand, and of the Roman Catholics on the other, and he might, the Queen thinks, to say the least, have well paused before he made a declaration of which the effect will certainly be to revive and inflame the old sectarian feuds, and to render the administration of Ireland more difficult.

The Queen trusts, however, to her Government, and especially to Mr. Disraeli, carefully to avoid saying anything, however great the provocation may be to act otherwise, that can tend to encourage a spirit of retaliation amongst the Protestants, or to revive old religious

animosities. It seems to her essentially a state of things in which her Ministers will deserve and receive the support of all who look to what is really for the good of the country, if they show moderation, and forbearance in meeting this attack, and studiously avoid taking a course which, though it might give them a Party advantage for the moment, would surely be injurious to the permanent interests of the Empire.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27*th Mar.* 1868.— . . . There is a vacant Canonry at Worcester, and the Queen and the Prince of Wales also are most anxious that that distinguished author, the Reverend Charles Kingsley, should be appointed.

His health is bad and he earnestly desires a canonry, for which he is very fit. His religious views are liberal and enlightened, and he is a personal friend of the Queen. The beloved Prince had also a great regard for him.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 30*th Mar.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

Notwithstanding the greatness of the occasion, the night[1] not very interesting.

Mr. Gladstone's opening speech, of two hours, was not unworthy of him, but scarcely of his highest class. Lord Stanley, in his amendment, was not successful. He was merely critical, and somewhat disheartened his friends. Lord Cranborne took advantage of this, and made a very bitter attack on the Ministry Nothing could be more malignant, but it wanted finish.

[1] The first night of the debate on Mr. Gladstone's motion to go into Committee on his Irish Church Resolutions. Lord Stanley, on behalf of the Government, moved an amendment which, while admitting that considerable modifications in Irish Church temporalities might be expedient, declared that the decision of the question should be left to a new Parliament. See Introductory Note.

Mr. Hardy, who was himself distressed by Lord Stanley's speech, moved the adjournment, so that he opens the debate to-morrow. He will speak well, and will reanimate the ranks of his friends. It is to be hoped the reaction from Lord Stanley will not be too strong.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

30*th Mar.* 1868.—The Queen does not wish to press on Mr. Disraeli, on the first occasion that a Clerical appointment falls vacant, any name which she herself may feel anxious about; but she has promised the Prince of Wales to bring Mr. Birch's name again before him. Mr. Birch was his tutor for three years, and is a worthy, good man. He has a very large Living, but he and his wife are anxious to leave it, as it is not a healthy climate, and they lost two children there, which has given them a great dislike to the place.

Perhaps Mr. Disraeli would soon inform the Queen what he would propose to do; and if he does not wish, on this occasion, to recommend either Mr. Birch or Mr. Kingsley, submit two or three other candidates for her selection. . . .

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 31*st Mar.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

He thanks your Majesty for your Majesty's gracious, and considerate kindness in waiving at the present moment, the name of Mr. Kingsley.

He would willingly serve Mr. Kingsley, especially as he is an object of your Majesty's favour; but the preferment of Mr. Kingsley, just now, would be seriously prejudicial to Mr. Disraeli.

He has the honour of knowing Mr. Birch, who is a most worthy man; nevertheless Mr. Disraeli hopes, that your Majesty will deign to consider one of the two following names on this occasion: The Revd. Dr. Wynter, President of St. John's College, Oxford; and The Revd. Professor Wall of Balliol College. They

are both sound Churchmen; of temperate views, and have long been the respected leaders of the Conservative party in the University.

The President of St. John's is much the older man and "lacks preferment." He was principal counsellor of Lord Derby, who always meant to give him "the next thing," and then generally postponed it, as he was "sure not to be forgotten in the long run." But he was forgotten, and he has ten sons, all unprovided for.

The President of St. John's is, and has been, for many years, the acknowledged leader of the Conservative party in the University.

Mr. Wall is a younger man; middle aged.

Either of these appointments would please a powerful party in the Church; the temperate, orthodox, Church and State party; would gratify the Conservative party generally; and would be received with respect, and without criticism, by all other parties, political and ecclesiastical.

Mr. Disraeli has no personal acquaintance with either of these reverend gentlemen; but the concurrent testimony of several of his colleagues and of many of your Majesty's most distinguished subjects, assures him that his counsel is sound.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, *4th April* [1868] (*Saturday*, 3.5 *a.m.*).—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

Mr. Gladstone's motion has been carried by a majority of 48.

Mr. Disraeli does not believe that there is any substantial power in this display: and principally because, against the wishes of Mr. Gladstone, he was enabled to adjourn the House till the 20th, and fix the Irish Church business for the 28th April.

If there be that feeling in the country, which the Bishop of London assures Mr. Disraeli exists, there will be now an opportunity of exercising it.

Mr. Disraeli pointed out to the House the significant alliance of the Ritualists and the Irish Papists.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

THE CASTLE, DUBLIN, 18*th April* 1868.

MY DEAR MAMA,—The ceremony of the "Installation" being just over I thought you might like to have a few lines from me to know how it went off. We were lucky in having again a very fine day. Lord and Lady Abercorn preceded us in an open carriage from the Castle to the Cathedral, and we followed in the second carriage, a State one, open, as the people here prefer it so much. Uncle George then followed, and then came the suite, etc.

All the streets were lined with troops, and there were thousands of people, who certainly gave us such a reception, that we shall not easily forget it. Ever since our arrival, the cheering and enthusiasm have redoubled every day, and I only wish, dear Mama, that you could have been here instead of us, as I feel sure that you would have been astounded by the expressions of loyalty you would have received, and the people, though excited, were so good-humoured and orderly. We reached the Cathedral at 3.30, and then I walked in procession after all the Knights—Lord Abercorn following me—to the Chapter Room in the Cathedral. Alix and Lady Abercorn followed a little later. The Installation and Investiture then took place—the details of which will be given in *The Times* much better than I could give them to you. The Ceremony was I think very imposing, and the Cathedral looked very well. The Lord Mayor's Ball last night was also a great success. It was very full and very hot, and we did not remain very long. To-night there is a State Dinner, and, after your health, Lord Abercorn proposes mine (in St. Patrick's Hall) and I have to make a short speech as the new Knight of St. Patrick.

I am glad to say that dear Alix is not at all the worse for all the fatigues she has had to go through,

and is much interested by everything that has taken place. She always manages to get a couple of hours' rest before dinner.

Sir W. Knollys having given you an account of our visit to the Punchestown Races, I have no more to add, excepting that we had a wonderfully enthusiastic reception, and the *coup d'œil* was very pretty, and as I mentioned before, it gave an opportunity for all the country people to see us.

We were glad to hear of your safe arrival at Osborne, and trust that our "little ones" are well and good.

With Alix' best love, I remain, your dutiful and affectionate Son, BERTIE.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 20*th April* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

The article in *The Times* and social reports intimated that some declaration from the Ministry would be expected at the opening of the House, or would be forcibly elicited.

Although this was quite contrary to Mr. Disraeli's intention, he was careful to be unusually early in his place, to meet any onslaught: but nothing could be more tranquil or meeker than the aspect of the House, and, even had he wished it, it would have been difficult for him to have originated an "explanation."

He proposes, subject to your Majesty's continued approbation, to follow the course which he has had the honour of laying before your Majesty, and which your Majesty then approved.

Assuming that the first Resolution of Mr. Gladstone, affirming the policy of "disestablishing" the Church in Ireland, being [? is] carried, he would announce that the division has changed the relations which previously existed between the House and the Ministry; that they must consequently consider their position; and then he would move the adjournment of the House.

If the debate concludes on Tuesday next, the 28th, the House could only be conveniently adjourned until Thursday following: if the debate be carried on till the following Friday, and then concludes, the House would naturally be adjourned until the following Monday, the 4th May. On either of these days, according to circumstances, Mr. Disraeli proposes to make a statement as to the position of your Majesty's Government: showing: firstly, that they accepted office, when their opponents, or rather predecessors, had thrown up the reins, in a House of Commons in which they were in a minority of 70. Secondly, that notwithstanding this disadvantage, they had carried a measure on a subject of vital importance, which had hitherto baffled all previous Statesmen and Cabinets. Thirdly, that during the period of their administration, their conduct of affairs in all the great branches—Foreign, Domestic, Irish Administration, Finance—had not only never been impugned, but had actually been commended, and greatly commended, by the Opposition; praised, and even, when measures were introduced, supported by them; that, under these circumstances, in the spirit of the Constitution, they were justified in advising your Majesty to appeal to your Majesty's people at the most convenient time, and that your Majesty had been graciously pleased to sanction such a course.

Then, it will be, to feel the opinion of the House of Commons, what is that most convenient time,[1] and Mr. Disraeli does not doubt that he can lead the House to adopt the just and truly sensible view of affairs; namely that the appeal to the people should

[1] The Queen, in her reply, printed in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 1, wrote: "She would, however, press upon Mr. Disraeli the importance of his not 'feeling' as he expresses it, 'for the opinion of the House,' as to the proper time for appealing to the country; but that the Government should consider this for themselves, and announce the decision which they may think it right to submit to the Queen, in a manner that shall show no hesitation or doubt as to the policy they mean to pursue." To this Mr. Disraeli responded: "Your Majesty's wise intimation shall be followed. It is the right course."

be to the popular voice as represented and registered in the new Constituency. If this view be adopted the rest of the Session will probably be without anxiety.

With your Majesty's approbation, Mr. Disraeli would suggest that after the division, whether on Tuesday, or Friday, he should communicate the result to your Majesty, and offer the advice (with the previous sanction of the Cabinet) which he has already expressed. His messenger would wait for your Majesty's pleasure, and thus he would be able without the delay which would be occasioned by visits to Osborne, [to] communicate the result to the House of Commons, without loss of time, a great object when public business has been so long and vexatiously delayed.

In his opinion it would be most desirable, nay, absolutely necessary, that your Majesty's sanction to the course recommended by your Majesty's Ministers should not be accorded *contingently*, but that it should be specifically recommended, and if your Majesty graciously so pleases it, accorded *after* the event of the division. This is the reason why he contemplates giving your Majesty so much trouble.

In enumerating the reasons why an appeal to the constituent body is authorised, Mr. Disraeli intends, as a fourth reason, to refer to the new policy recommended by Mr. Gladstone. It must produce great changes: according to the opinion of your Majesty's Ministers, it may bring about serious consequences. They believe the opinion of the nation, after due consideration, will decide against the new policy: and therefore, this is an additional reason why the appeal should be made, and the delay, which technical reasons really cause, may be highly advantageous in securing a matured and, to a certain degree, general verdict of your Majesty's subjects.

Mr. Disraeli will communicate to your Majesty, in the course of the week, some authentic information as to the real feeling of the country on the threatened revolution, for it is not less.

Beneath the chatter of newspapers, and the babble of political and social coteries, there is a national sentiment astir, which is very grave and significant. . . .

When Mr. Disraeli counts the sheets of this Parliamentary bulletin, he is almost dismayed; and hesitates whether he ought not, perhaps, to put it in the fire. But he knows your Majesty likes to be thoroughly informed as to affairs, and he really has not said half, perhaps, that he ought. But if it be, perhaps, indiscreet, he knows he sends it to a gracious Mistress, who will pardon an indiscretion, if the intention be loyal.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 24*th April* 1868.— . . . Mr. Disraeli would humbly suggest to your Majesty, in the contemplated event of the political crisis which he foresees, that it would, on the whole, be expedient that he should take your Majesty's pleasure personally,[1] even if it do occasion an additional day's delay. On great political occasions, it is wise, that the visible influence, as it were, of the Sovereign should be felt and recognised by the nation, and that Parliament should practically comprehend, that the course of a Ministry depends on the will of the Queen.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

OSBORNE, 2*nd May* 1868.—The Queen has given her most anxious consideration to Mr. Disraeli's letter,[2] and cannot hesitate, as she has already verbally informed him, to sanction the dissolution of Parliament under the circumstances stated by him, in order that the opinion of the country may be

[1] Accordingly, when Mr. Gladstone's first and main Resolution was carried against the Government on 30th April by a majority of 65, Mr. Disraeli went next day, 1st May, to Osborne, formally to advise a dissolution.

[2] Mr. Disraeli's letter, elaborating the argument for a dissolution submitted to the Queen in his previous letter of 20th April, given above, is printed in full, together with her Majesty's reply, in the *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 1.

deliberately expressed on the important question which has been brought into discussion.

The Queen admits the correctness of Mr. Disraeli's statement of the circumstances under which Lord Derby undertook the Government in the first instance, and Mr. Disraeli has since continued to carry it on.

She has frequently had occasion to express her satisfaction at the zeal and ability with which the several Departments of the Government have been administered; and while her Ministers have done nothing to forfeit the confidence she has hitherto reposed in them, she cannot think of having recourse to the alternative, which Mr. Disraeli has placed before her, of accepting their resignations, till the sense of the country shall have been taken on a question which, it is admitted on all hands, cannot be settled in the present Parliament.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, *4th May* 1868 (12 *o'clock*).—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

His report of affairs is favourable.

He succeeded in expressing, on the whole to his satisfaction, his general views. Mr. Gladstone, he thought, violent, but, for him, weak. He seemed surprised and checked, and was obliged to withdraw the offensive motion of which he had given notice for this evening, and which, had he carried it, would have taken the management of the House of Commons out of the hands of Mr. Disraeli.

The more desperate men of his party went about the lobbies, and said, that "Gladstone has lost his opportunity."

All the men who spoke against Mr. Disraeli, were expectants of high office. They were bitter and chagrined. Principally among these, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Bright. The first most violent and bitter; he positively raised his crest, and hissed, like an adder, but he was, according to Lord Stanley, his admirer and a cold judge, "most ineffective." Bright

rumbling and rambling; he is generally condensed and clear.

The general impression of the House was, that the Opposition were afraid of a dissolution; whether early or late; and affected to wish, that it should be early, while, at the same time, they proved it was impossible.

Mr. Disraeli, anxious not to make a too sanguine report, would sum up; that Mr. Gladstone was decidedly checked; that the feeling of the House generally was that the Government would baffle their opponents; but, at the same time, many difficulties and trials are impending, which will require courage, and, above all, *patience.*

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, *5th May* 1868.—. . . . It requires four and twenty hours to estimate the general effect of a statement such as that made last night; and, after that interval, Mr. Disraeli can report the effect as very favourable.

Mr. Disraeli is assured that the floating independent body, on the Opposition side, was quite satisfied with the Ministerial statement, and, to use the expression of one of them, "you have passed the Rapids."

An unfortunate speech of the Duke of Richmond last night, not even read by Mr. Disraeli, gave Mr. Gladstone an opportunity for a disagreeable agitation in the House of Commons this evening.

There was a meeting, it seems, in the morning at Mr. Gladstone's house, and an attack was there concerted, and it was sharp.

Strange to say, no notice of it was given to Mr. Disraeli! Mr. Gladstone wished to pin your Majesty's Government to the Duke's observations, which were certainly not very constitutional, and quite inaccurate; but Mr. Disraeli, without throwing over the Duke, avoided this, and believes that the ship was steered quite clear.

Though the discussion was very animated and elaborately got up, Mr. Disraeli observed, that the performers were the same as in previous instances, and that the great body of the Opposition did not sympathetically join in the onslaught.

The performers were Messrs. Lowe, Horsman, Ayrton, Bouverie and so on, all aspirants and expectants of office. They always come out on these occasions; it is a company, a *troupe*, like one of those bands of minstrels one encounters in the sauntering of a summer street, as one returns from the House of Commons, but with visages not so fair and radiant as the countenances of your Majesty's subjects at Balmoral.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

House of Commons, 12*th May* 1868.—. . . . The House very serene, and about to die.

Mr. Disraeli humbly thanks your Majesty for your Majesty's bright and gracious recollection of him this morn. None of the decorations, on which he sometimes has to take your Majesty's pleasure, were half as fair; and he trusts, that in their sweetness and their beauty, they may ever be typical of your Majesty's life and thoughts.[1]

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

Windsor Castle, 14*th May* 1868.—Mr. Martin has been so kind and feeling, and knowing so well how the Queen's health and nerves are shaken—therefore will understand how very *great* the efforts made this year have been—a week in London, *three* Drawing-rooms, and the great ceremony yesterday,[2] from which she is suffering *much* to-day; he will accordingly not be surprised at the indignation and pain with which she read the Article in the *Globe* to-night, and her great anxiety therefore that he or Mr. Helps should try and prevent similar Articles appearing in *The Times*

[1] The Queen had sent Mr. Disraeli a present of spring flowers.
[2] The laying of the first stone of the new St. Thomas's Hospital.

and *Daily Telegraph*. Every increased effort is rewarded by *such* shameless Articles; and the discouragement and pain they cause are *very great. This* therefore is the return for increased *efforts* made which cause her *painful* suffering. Her head is very painful, her nerves are so much shaken and her brain was feeling this evening quite confused and overtaxed! Were she not to get away for three to four weeks (and *no* public service *can* suffer, for communication is very rapid) she believes she would *completely* break down. They even *grudge* the Prince of Wales going down for *three* days to spend his poor widowed mother's birthday *with her* (for the first time since '61!) It is very cruel! The Queen hears it is not *at all* the general feeling, and that people are really anxious about her; but she really *is* feeling *utterly* worn out; and *does wish some* newspaper would point out *how* much she *has done*, and how necessary it is to keep her well enough to go on, for else she may be unable to do so.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *4th June* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

He has refrained from troubling your Majesty for some days. All goes well here, and he earnestly hopes that the bright air of Balmoral, and your Majesty's serener life, have, at the same time, strengthened and tranquillised a nervous system very sensitive, and too much tried.

He is never unmindful of your Majesty's wishes on a certain subject, but relying on your Majesty's gracious expression of confidence in his judgment, he watches, with devoted vigilance, the fine and golden opportunity. It must not be forced, but it will come.

The Cabinet to-day deliberated on the measures necessary to expedite the dissolution, and Mr. Secretary Hardy was instructed to bring in a bill with that object. If it were carried, the dissolution might take place in December, but the difficulties are so great,

that Mr. Disraeli thinks it will all end in the House adhering to the provisions of the Reform Act of last year, and that the dissolution will take place, consequently, in January 1869.

Sir Robert Napier wishes to be made a peer, having been confidentially consulted by Sir Stafford Northcote, individually, and without in any way pledging the Government. Mr. Disraeli wishes your Majesty's pleasure on this subject. The opinion of Society is, he thinks, favourable to Napier's object. Peerages have been given for smaller services : as to Lord Keane, for taking Ghuznee. There will, however, be remonstrants. The Commander-in-Chief, for example, might think the reward disproportioned to those given to some other officers, especially to Sir Hope Grant for the China War.

But History will place the Abyssinian expedition in a higher and more enduring position than the China War. So well planned, so quietly and thoroughly executed, the political part so judiciously managed, the troops so admirably handled during the long, trying march, the strength of Anglo-Indian organisation so strikingly demonstrated in the eyes of Europe, wiping out all the old stories of Crimean blundering—the Abyssinian expedition stands apart, and merits, Mr. Disraeli thinks, perhaps an exceptional reward.

But your Majesty will decide in your wisdom, and, whatever that decision, he will not shrink from the responsibility of sanctioning and supporting it.

Mr. Birch has accepted the Canonry with overflowing gratitude, and evidently some surprise. Mr. Disraeli confesses he was a little disappointed, as he would have liked, in your Majesty's name, to have made the Whippingham hearth[1] happy. However, if things go well, your Majesty will have other opportunities of so doing.

All foreign affairs seem wonderfully calm, and the domestic prospect every day clearer and stronger. All that remains now is, that your Majesty should

[1] Mr. Prothero was Rector of Whippingham.

profit, in mind and body, during the next fortnight, by the sweet stillness and the inspiring atmosphere of your Majesty's mountain home.

General Grey to Mr. Disraeli.

13*th June* 1868.

My dear Disraeli,—The Queen desires me to write to you, on the subject of the previous communication to her of important despatches from the Colonial Office before they are sent, as is the practice at the Foreign Office.

Her Majesty takes this opportunity of mentioning this to you, as she has just seen the copy, sent by the Duke of Buckingham, of a very proper and judicious despatch to Lord Monck, on the subject of the opposition offered by the Nova Scotians to the accomplishment of the Confederation scheme.

Her Majesty, on a former occasion, pressed the same thing on Lord Derby, when Lord Carnarvon, acting by telegraph and without any previous communication, either with the Cabinet or herself, committed the Government to the remission of the capital sentence awarded to the Fenian invaders taken actually in arms in Canada. Of course in this case the Cabinet has been consulted, but the Queen thinks there should also have been a previous communication to herself.

She feels sure you will agree with her and provide against this in future. Yours truly, C. Grey.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gathorne Hardy.

Osborne, 20*th July* 1868.—The Queen cannot help directing Mr. Hardy's attention to an article in the *Daily Telegraph* of to-day, on the cruelty to animals, and to ask him to make enquiry on the subject.

Nothing brutalises people more than cruelty to dumb animals, and to dogs, who are the companions of man, it is especially revolting.

The Queen is sorry to say, that she thinks the

English are inclined to be more cruel to animals than some other civilised nations are.

Sir Thomas Biddulph to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Copy.*] LUCERNE, 16*th August* 1868.

DEAR MR. DISRAELI,—I am desired by the Queen to reply to your letter of the 14th instant, respecting the appointment of a successor to the late Dr. Goode, Dean of Ripon.

You must be aware how desirous the Queen is generally to sanction the recommendations you make for the disposal of the patronage of the Crown, and that it is most unwillingly her Majesty demurs on the present occasion.

But before sanctioning the appointment of Dr. McNeile to the vacant Deanery, the Queen would wish you to consider well what the effect may be of appointing so strong a partisan to a high dignity in the English Church.[1]

However great Dr. McNeile's attainments may be, and however distinguished he may be as a speaker, the Queen believes he has chiefly rendered himself conspicuous by his hostility to the Roman Catholic Church.

The Queen would ask whether his appointment is not likely to stir up a considerable amount of ill-feeling among the Roman Catholics, and in the minds of those who sympathise with them, which will more than counterbalance the advantage to be gained by the promotion of an able advocate of the Royal supremacy. I am, yours faithfully, THOS. BIDDULPH.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN, 19*th Aug.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his most humble duty to your Majesty, begs leave to

[1] In recommending Dr. McNeile, Mr. Disraeli had written: "He has been for many years a shining light of the Protestant party, but at this critical conjuncture he is gaining golden opinions all over England by his eloquent, learned and commanding advocacy of the Royal supremacy. He is a great orator, and one of those whose words, at periods of national excitement, influence opinion."

assure your Majesty, that he has most anxiously and deeply considered the step, that he has advised your Majesty to take with respect to the Deanery of Ripon.

From the vast number of letters he daily receives on the subject, he believes the step is already anticipated in public opinion, and that it would be favourably received by the High Church party, who feel that the claims of Canon McNeile cannot be overlooked at this crisis, and that, if now passed over, a higher preferment might fall to him.

Mr. Disraeli has consulted the Lord Chancellor on this matter, who is very strongly in favour of the appointment of Canon McNeile.

There is no hope of conciliating the Roman Catholics; even Lord Denbigh, Mr. Disraeli's intimate and attached supporter, has left him now: the influence of Archbishop Manning being omnipotent.

The Protestant party in the Church consider they have been neglected, and more than neglected, by the present Government. The preferment of Canon McNeile would remedy all this at a most critical moment.... It is a party very powerful, very energetic, and only wants encouragement to be triumphant.

Mr. Disraeli quite enters into your Majesty's general views on this proposition, distinguished, he unaffectedly admits, by all your Majesty's wise and just appreciation of affairs; but affairs are very peculiar now: the situation has much changed during the last fortnight; the Protestant feeling of the country is very generally stirred; but the danger is that it may not be enlisted on the side of the Church of England. . . .

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 31*st Aug.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

He thanks your Majesty for your Majesty's most gracious letter.

He is sincerely gratified, that the expedition to the

Furka[1] was successful. It is a great thing to have seen the glacier of the Rhone; greater to have walked upon it. This visit alone would repay your Majesty for much exertion and some suffering. When these are passed and forgotten, the recollection of beautiful and striking scenery remains; and adds to the aggregate of those pleasing memories, that make life interesting.

The appointment of the new Dean of Ripon has quite realised Mr. Disraeli's expectations; it has done great good: has rallied the Protestant party, and has been received by the Church sections with no disfavour or cavil.

Since Mr. Disraeli wrote last to your Majesty, a long impending vacancy in the Episcopal Bench has occurred. There is no necessity to precipitate the appointment, and the final decision can await your Majesty's return.

Perhaps, Mr. Disraeli may be permitted to wait on your Majesty at Windsor on your Majesty's return, before he attends your Majesty in Scotland, to which he looks forward with much interest.

On the nomination to the see of Peterborough in the present temper of the country, much depends. The new Prelate should be one of unquestionably Protestant principles, but must combine with these learning, personal piety, administrative ability, and what is not much heeded by the world, but which is vital to the Church, a general pastoral experience. This last quality Dr. Atlay[2] possessed, in addition to the other ones.

Mr. Disraeli, after the most careful enquiry and the most anxious thought, is strongly inclined to recommend to your Majesty Canon Champneys of St. Paul's, and Vicar of Pancras.

The new Minister of the United States has arrived here in your Majesty's absence, and as there was no one

[1] Queen Victoria was staying at Lucerne for some weeks for her health.

[2] Recently appointed, on Mr. Disraeli's advice, Bishop of Hereford.

to welcome him in London,[1] and first impressions, especially in diplomacy, are important, Mr. Disraeli asked him down here at once, where he had the opportunity of meeting many persons, and made a very favourable impression on all.

Mr. Reverdy Johnson is simple, well-bred and genial; very English in feeling, being sprung from one of the original families, and of Baltimore. Though advanced in life, 71 or 72, hale and vigorous, and climbing hills like a sportsman. In manner, size, and colour, he somewhat resembles Lord Lansdowne, and would be very good-looking, had he not lost an eye in a duel! But, it is believed, he was only a second, and a peacemaker, which makes his fate more distressing.

He is most anxious to settle all the differences between the two countries, and seems to have ample powers for that purpose.

Dean Wellesley to the Princess Louise.

HASLEWOOD, WATFORD, 1*st September* 1868.

MY DEAR PRINCESS LOUISE,—I have just received your letter here on my return from Scotland.

I think I have said before, that Mr. Disraeli cannot be expected to propose anyone opposed to his Government as belonging to the Liberal party, nor would it be fair to press any such upon him. A negative could only be put upon any decidedly objectionable person recommended by him.

This limits the choice, because he could not very well have Dr. Temple proposed to him, who would much the best. But the Bishopric of Exeter, under a Liberal Government, would be the best for him.[2]

If the Bishopric is for *Cambridge*, then Dr. Lightfoot, who was before proposed by Lord Derby, should be the man pressed.

[1] Lord Stanley, the Foreign Secretary, was in attendance on the Queen at Lucerne.

[2] In the following year Dr. Temple became Bishop of Exeter on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone.

But it is what is called the Oxford turn.

On the last occasion Mr. Disraeli suggested Dr. Leighton, Warden of All Souls', and Dr. Goulburn; the latter is the more able, but his health is not good, and Dr. Leighton is universally popular. I should recommend him. He it was, whom the Princess Christian so much liked when he received her at All Souls', during her visit at Blenheim—a gentleman!

Besides, there is Professor Mansel (very able), Professor Hessey, and Professor Heurtly. Any of these Mr. Disraeli might propose, or accept. Also Dr. Cradock, Principal of Brasenose. . . . Your very faithful attached Servant, G. WELLESLEY.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 20*th Sept.* 1868.—Saw Mr. Disraeli, who arrived yesterday[1] and talked a good deal about affairs and about the Church appointments. He expressed himself most anxious to make good, liberal and moderate ones. Jane Churchill and Mr. Disraeli (who is extremely agreeable and original) dined.

22*nd Sept.*—Saw Mr. Disraeli for a moment about telegrams which have arrived from Spain, showing the progress of the revolution[2] there, which, if it becomes general, may be very serious. Mr. Disraeli will, I think, make good Church appointments, as he sees the force of my arguments in favour of moderate and distinguished men.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

BALMORAL, 26*th Sept.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

He thanks your Majesty for your Majesty's most gracious letter, which crowns the many charms of a most happy visit.

[1] As Minister in attendance.
[2] See Introductory Note.

Its interesting accompaniments [1] will sustain his memory, so that, though absent, he will be able to live, as it were, in your Majesty's favourite scenes.

The portrait of the Prince, he presumes to say, could not have been conferred on one more capable of appreciating the distinction; for he looks upon his relations with that gifted being as among the most interesting passages of his life, nor can he now ever dwell on his memory without emotion.

Mr. Disraeli thanks your Majesty, especially, for your Majesty's recollection of his wife, than which nothing could more deeply gratify him.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, *27th Sept.* 1868.—Saw Mr. Disraeli at half past three. He spoke first of the progress of the revolution in Spain. Then of the elections, which he said promised extremely well, though the Opposition were very positive they would have a large majority. He spoke of the report of the Committee for the elections, and said that, after the most careful scrutiny, their belief was that the Government would have 330 seats. He said it would be very strange, should this prove to be entirely false, and he thought it impossible. They would certainly better their present condition. He spoke in a proper tone of some honours he wished to give, but sparingly—no peerages, but some baronetcies; of the new Bishop and the Dean of St. Paul's, the distinguished and excellent Dean Milman having unfortunately died. A great loss! Mr. Disraeli suggested two courses; First, to make Dr. Mansel, a distinguished theologian and author, Dean of St. Paul's, and the distinguished Dean of

[1] In a letter of the same date to his wife, Mr. Disraeli describes the Queen's presents as "two volumes of views of Balmoral; a box full of family photographs; a very fine whole-length portrait of the Prince; and 'a Scotch shawl for Mrs. Disraeli,' which H.M. 'hopes you will find warm in the cold weather.'" See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 1, which contains Mr. Disraeli's own impressions of his Balmoral visit in his correspondence with his wife.

Cork,[1] Bishop of Peterborough; Second, to make Canon Champneys (an insignificant Low Churchman) Dean of St. Paul's, and Dr. Leighton Bishop. I was greatly in favour of the first.

28*th Sept.*—Took leave of Mr. Disraeli, who seemed delighted with his stay and was most grateful. He certainly shows more consideration for my comfort than any of the preceding Prime Ministers since Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 1*st Oct.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

He has unceasingly considered the subject of the Church appointments since he had the honour of taking leave of your Majesty, and has had several fine opportunities of feeling the pulse of opinion on the points in question; and result is, that he feels persuaded the scheme approved, and indeed proposed, by your Majesty is a wise one, and calculated to meet all the requirements of a complicated case, and indeed bring credit to your Majesty's Government.

He, therefore, proposes to carry it into effect by signifying your Majesty's pleasure to nominate the Dean of Cork to the See of Peterborough, and Professor Mansel to the Deanery of St. Paul's: but shall take no step without your Majesty's definite sanction.

The living of Sigglesthorne in Yorkshire is vacant, and Mr. Disraeli earnestly recommends your Majesty to approve the presentation to it of the Rev. Charles Wishaw Clubbe, A.M., Vicar of Hughenden. He is, in every sense, an admirable man; has served at Hughenden seventeen years, but is still young; a capital preacher; enlightened, moderate, and sound; and though in the diocese of Oxford, a Cambridge man; and a happy specimen of that great central body of the Clergy, on whose loyalty and discretion everything now depends.

[1] Dr. Magee, afterwards Archbishop of York.

Queen Victoria to Lord Charles FitzRoy.

BALMORAL, *6th Oct.* 1868.—The Queen writes to Lord Charles FitzRoy, who is acting as Master of the Household, to ask him to see that the Smoking room is always *closed at 12*. This was her original intention, as well as that 11 o'clock should be the time for leaving the Drawing room; but she hears that the smoking often goes on till very late, a thing which in *her house* she does not intend to allow. The servants (she has heard) feel these late hours very much (and they are *not* wrong), and she must say that it is a bad thing for them and a bad example, especially in these days. Perhaps Lord Charles would draw up a short Memorandum to be handed over from *one* Equerry to the other gentlemen who succeed him. Lord Charles would perhaps simply mention to Prince ——, *without* giving it as a *direct order*, that the Queen felt it *necessary* for the sake of the *servants*, who were kept up so late and who had to be up so early in the morning, to direct that the Smoking room should be closed and the lights put out by *12* o'clock—*not* later; that this had been her original intention, and that it was necessary for everyone that this should be the case.

Lord Charles will no doubt agree with the Queen, and he will see that it is done *quite quietly* but *effectually;* someone coming to remind the Prince and gentlemen that the hour has come when the lights must be put out.

If Lord Charles wishes to speak to her about it she could easily see him to-morrow morning.

General Grey to Lord Stanley.

Private. BALMORAL, *9th October* 1868.

DEAR LORD STANLEY,—The Queen had already heard from Mr. Disraeli of the probability of the offer[1] you speak of, being made, and had told him she could not consent to its being entertained.

[1] Of the throne of Spain to an English Prince.

Her Majesty would see with much reluctance, under any circumstances, a throne from which another family had been ejected, occupied by one of her children. But in the case of Spain, there are many reasons which make it, in her Majesty's opinion, most undesirable that the offer of the Crown, if made, should be accepted by an English Prince.

Different Parties in Spain may combine to overthrow the Throne of Queen Isabella; but does our experience of Spanish Statesmen warrant the hope, that, their object effected, they will continue to act in harmony, or agree amongst themselves as to the Government to be set up? The Spaniards, besides, are proverbially indisposed to foreigners; so that an English Prince, accepting the offer of the Crown in the present circumstances, would probably find himself supported by one part of the Nation, and violently opposed by another, and would thus become the cause of fresh Civil wars and calamities in that unhappy country. The Queen need not say how much it would distress her to see one of her sons in such a position.

Then the jealousy of France would surely be excited by the choice of an English Prince, and fresh complications would thus ensue.

Her Majesty trusts, therefore, that you will do what you can, to prevent an offer being made, which cannot, she thinks, be accepted, and of which the refusal might occasion considerable embarrassment. Yours very truly, C. Grey.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, *9th Oct.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He is greatly distressed, that he should have written to your Majesty yesterday on Church appointments, without any reference to your Majesty's wish expressed in a letter from her Royal Highness the Princess Christian.

But your Majesty's box, from some mistake of the messenger's, was mislaid, and did not reach him until a late hour. This never happened before.

The personal wishes of his Sovereign must always, under any circumstances, have great influence with Mr. Disraeli; but expressed, as in the present instance by one, who has extended to him not only constitutional confidence, but has deigned to aid him by her wise experience, and to animate him, under very great difficulties, by her condescending kindness—those wishes become commands, and commands of that kind which it is delightful to obey.

He withdraws, therefore, at once the advice he offered to your Majesty respecting the Westminster Canonry, and places it entirely at your Majesty's disposal.

As the state of affairs, connected with the representation of the University of Oxford, is at this moment very critical, in consequence of the unexpected and not very friendly retirement of Sir Wm. Heathcote, Mr. Disraeli would ask, as a favour from your Majesty, that your Majesty's wishes as to the Canonry should not be announced, but reserved entirely to your Majesty and himself.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.[1]

BALMORAL, 10*th Oct.* 1868.—The Queen thanks Mr. Disraeli for his letter received this morning and the gratifying enclosures.

The Dean of Lichfield is dead. Might not Dr. Leighton be appointed to this Deanery,[2] and then Mr. Prothero (whom Princess Christian wrote to Mr. Disraeli about three days ago) to the Stall at Westminster?

The Queen is most anxious for Mr. Prothero—and he is a sensible, liberal-minded man.

[1] This and the previous letter crossed in the post.
[2] Dr. Bickersteth was appointed.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Extract.*]

Balmoral Castle [*Oct.* 1868].— . . . I wish now to say a word about the children, I mean the two boys going to Copenhagen ; I cannot give my consent to it, until you have consulted the Physicians Drs. Farre and Sieveking as to whether a journey so far north across the seas, and especially the journey and voyage back in January, is advisable. If after due consideration they see no objection and no risk, then I shall *not* refuse my consent. They are the children of the country, and *I* shall be blamed for allowing any *risk* to be run. The two babies are totally out of the question. Pray show this to Alix.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 21*st Oct.* 1868. — Mr. Disraeli, with his humble duty to your Majesty :

With reference to Ecclesiastical appointments, he now submits the following programme to your Majesty, which he thinks, at this critical period, will reconcile every legitimate claim.

Canon Champneys for the Deanery of Lichfield ; and if he accept that post, his Canonry, which is one of the richest, and is in your Majesty's gift, to be conferred on Mr. Prothero.

The Canonry of Westminster to be conferred by your Majesty on Dr. Leighton, Warden of All Souls', and the Revd. William Bright, Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford, to be appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

Mr. Bright has made Ecclesiastical history his special study, and has written a brilliant book on the history of the first three centuries of the Church.

It is very true that Mr. Church and Mr. Bradley[1]

[1] These names had been suggested by the Queen. Mr. Church became afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, and Mr. Bradley Dean of Westminster.

are also greatly distinguished in this lore, but no one pretends that they are superior to Mr. Bright.

But there are other considerations, which necessarily blend in these decisions. Mr. Bright, though a high Churchman, is perfectly constitutional in his Church views, and was, and is, a warm and influential supporter of the Conservative party. Mr. Church, and, it is believed, also Mr. Bradley, strongly opposed Mr. Hardy at the last election, and there is scarcely a doubt will oppose Messrs. Hardy and Mowbray in the impending important University contest. They are, in short, devoted to Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Disraeli in Church appointments is never inclined to take narrow views, and would never willingly, for party considerations, recommend to your Majesty to appoint to very responsible offices second-rate men; but, in a case like the present, when an individual, certainly not surpassed for the special learning in question, can be supplied from the ranks of his own followers, it would have a most injurious effect, if such an individual were overlooked.

He, therefore, humbly trusts that your Majesty will graciously consider his suggestions on this subject, and if your Majesty approve them, sanction them by your Majesty's pleasure.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Copy.*]

Balmoral Castle, 29*th Oct.* 1868.—The Queen has been greatly shocked to hear to-day (and only *to-day*) of the death of the worthy and amiable Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] which came to her quite unexpectedly, though she knew he had been ill.

The position of the Primate of England is one of such importance, and he is brought into so much personal contact with the Sovereign, that his appointment is the most important as well as the highest in the

[1] Dr. Longley.

Church, and the Queen therefore writes at once to Mr. Disraeli to say that she thinks there is *no* one so fit, (indeed she knows of no one who WOULD *be fit*), than [? as] the Bishop of London,[1] an excellent, pious, liberal-minded, courageous man, who would be an immense support and strength to the Church in these times. His health, which is not good, would be benefited by the change.

The Queen hopes to hear without delay on this subject from Mr. Disraeli, as it would not be good to wait too long before coming to a decision.

Mr. Disraeli has not yet told the Queen whether Mr. Champneys accepts the Deanery of Lichfield. She is very anxious to know this, as she would wish to inform Mr. Prothero of *his* preferment.

If Mr. Disraeli has any difficulty in finding amongst his supporters anyone as fit as Mr. Bright to be Professor of Ecclesiastical History, the Queen *will* approve of him, as she hears he is clever and bears a high character.[2]

Dean Wellesley to Queen Victoria.

THE DEANERY [*undated*, ? 30*th Oct.* 1868].—The Dean of Windsor has just come in ; and, not to keep your Majesty in anxiety, he writes at once to say that he thinks your Majesty may fairly begin by positively declining the Bishop of Gloucester.[3] He has a miserably thin, weak voice, and no dignity of manner. He was at first not (as Mr. D. says) Low Church, but High, and supposed to be a follower of the Bishop of Oxford. He has since renounced his allegiance to him, and made a charge against the Ritualists, and now the Dean has said all that is good or bad of him. He is an amiable, insignificant man, talking constantly and irrelevantly, with some book learning. If Mr. Disraeli wants the kind of man, which in other respects he

[1] Dr. Tait.

[2] The Queen had objected to the promotion of Dr. Bright, when suggested by Lord Derby.

[3] Dr. Ellicott, whom Mr. Disraeli had recommended.

describes the Bishop to be, and which he thinks the Archbishop ought to be, there is Harold Browne, *Bishop of Ely*, whom the Cambridge men would with one voice think, at all events, to be preferred to Bishop Ellicott.

Perhaps when Mr. Disraeli finds that your Majesty declines the Bishop of Gloucester, he may be the less averse to take the Bishop of London. The Dean cannot agree in the character given to him by Mr. Disraeli. He is the only one among the *greater* Prelates, who is trusted by the *Laity*, and he would also be welcomed by a large body of the Clergy, because the clerical feeling is very much altered towards him since the last vacancy of Canterbury, from the fact that all parties have found him dealing with fairness towards them. Even the High Church party allow this. His labours deserve the comparative repose. Above all his power of speaking is one peculiarly suited to the House of Lords, where he is much respected. His conduct on the Irish Church Question is all right, and has probably forfeited Mr. Gladstone's favour. His labours in London are universally acknowledged, and deserve comparative repose.

These are plain, sound reasons, and ought to be urged against Mr. Disraeli's rather fanciful picture. Colenso matter is one upon which the Bishop will act prudently and probably safely. It is a very serious difficulty, placed in the hands of anyone too much prejudiced either way.

But your Majesty should not (doing what you can to persuade) insist upon this appointment. No one expects so grave a matter to be settled for some days. If Mr. Disraeli will not have London, he should produce something better than Gloucester.

The next obvious course is the translation of the other Archbishop.[1] He has energy equal to the situation. But he is not so much trusted as London, and his rapid advancement has already excited envy.

[1] Dr. Thomson.

Among the lesser Prelates there are the Bishops of Ely,[1] Lincoln,[2] Lichfield,[3] or the great learning and ability of the Bishop of St. David's[4] would add weight and dignity to the office.

It is much to be lamented that the Premier objects (though the Dean thought he would) to the Bishop of London, as belonging to the Liberal party. The Government (having him with them on the Irish Church question) could afford to be magnanimous, and would gain in public estimation.

In summing up this, the Dean thinks that your Majesty should reject Gloucester, convince, if you can, Mr. Disraeli about London, but not force him against his convictions. It would not be fair to him in his position. He must produce, in that case, other names—some of which the Dean has suggested.

The Dean is very sorry that Mr. Disraeli appears to have taken up such exaggerated prejudices respecting the Bishop of Oxford. These he has got from the Bishop of Gloucester, between whom and the Bishop (for reasons above mentioned) no very good feeling exists. There is a general feeling (especially among the Liberal party) that his claims to some secondary promotion on account of his talents and labours should, despite his faults, hardly be set aside, and Mr. Disraeli might safely send him to York, should the other be moved, or to Winchester, if vacant.

But the Dean does not *wish* York to be moved. It may be a necessity. He is better than Gloucester.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

Balmoral, 31*st Oct.* 1868.—The Queen has read Mr. Disraeli's letter of this morning.[5] She cannot alter her opinion, which she believes to be shared by everyone, except the extreme parties on both sides,

[1] Dr. Harold Browne.
[2] Dr. Jackson.
[3] Dr. Selwyn.
[4] Dr. Thirlwall, the historian.
[5] Recommending the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Ellicott) for the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

that the Bishop of London is the *only* fit man to succeed the Archbishop.

The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, though a very good man, has not the knowledge of the world, nor the reputation and general *presence* (which is of so *great* importance in a position of such very high rank, constantly called upon to perform all the highest functions in connection with the Sovereign and Royal Family).

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

Secret.

10 DOWNING STREET, *4th Nov.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his duty to your Majesty, humbly entreats your Majesty, whatever your Majesty's ultimate decision on the subject, to which he will bow, to deign to read these remarks with indulgent patience, in which he will attempt to express, with the utmost concinnity he can command, his views on the most important matter on which it has ever been his duty to offer counsel to your Majesty. He presumes to hope they may contain some suggestions, which may, perhaps, contribute to your Majesty's welfare, and may be not altogether useless to your Majesty when he may be not so near the Throne.

When Mr. Disraeli received your Majesty's command to attempt, under your Majesty's pleasure, to carry on the public affairs, he found those of the Church in a distracted and critical state.

While the two great parties in the Church still indulged in their inveterate and traditionary rivalry, two sections had gradually arisen among the Clergy, one of which was viewed by the country generally with aversion, and the other with extreme alarm: the Romanists and the Free-thinkers.

The anarchy, which under amiable, but not directing hands, had too long prevailed, had, in a considerable degree, tended to direct this aversion and alarm against the establishment itself. It seemed to Mr. Disraeli that the only mode by which anything

like strength and order could be brought about would be by inducing the two great Church parties to drop their emulous animosities and act together, and to discourage as much as possible the Ritualist and the Neologian.

Without the presumption of offering to your Majesty a single observation, which might be construed into being controversial, Mr. Disraeli would make, on each of these sections, one remark.

He will only say of Romanism, that, though its patronage and progress may bring convulsions in the State, he feels assured that your Majesty's people will never ultimately succumb to it.

Of Neology, he will only remark, that he looks upon it as he would on "the music of the future." Whether it be destined that coming generations may find consolation and charm in either, he stops not to enquire; but those who have to gratify the public taste, or to assist your Majesty in the business of government, must be practical men and deal with the present, and there only find the materials for managing mankind.

Adopting, then, Mr. Disraeli's opinion, that there is only one safe Church policy to pursue at this dangerous crisis with any due regard to the interests of your Majesty's Throne, and that is to unite, as much as possible, in common action the legitimate High Church and Evangelical parties, discountenancing to the utmost Romanism, and not patronising Neology, it may be asked: is the Bishop of London a fit coadjutor for your Majesty's Minister, whoever he may be, in this difficult state of affairs?

Acknowledging his abilities and virtues, Mr. Disraeli finds him, as an Ecclesiastical statesman, obscure in purpose, fitful and inconsistent in action, and evidently, though earnest and conscientious, a prey to constantly conflicting convictions. It is true he behaved with courage on the question of the Colonial Bishops, but he favoured the Synod, the origin of all these embarrassments; and he is, at this moment,

from some influence which Mr. Disraeli cannot trace, as much compromised with respect to religious sisterhoods, as the Bishops of Salisbury and Oxford themselves.

This is to be observed of the Bishop of London, that, though apparently of a spirit somewhat austere, there is in his idiosyncrasy a strange fund of enthusiasm, a quality which ought never to be possessed by an Archbishop of Canterbury, or a Prime Minister of England. The Bishop of London sympathises with everything that is earnest; but what is earnest is not always true; on the contrary, error is often more earnest than truth.

But what Mr. Disraeli deems the most dangerous feature in the Bishop's character is the peculiar influence which Neology has had upon his mind; not one of elevation and cheerfulness, but one which, while it fascinates, disheartens him, and which is likely to involve him in terrible and perhaps fatal embarrassments.

A few years ago the Bishop of London possessed the respect of both the great parties in the Church, and even the confidence of the country generally. There are rare instances of a leader of men having so gradually, but so surely, lost his great following; and at a time when it is assumed the Primate should combine both the great parties, repress the Ritualists, and leave the Neologians to themselves, the Bishop of London has forfeited the confidence of the High Church and the Evangelicals, and is only looked up to with curious and unquiet hope by the Romanising or the Free-thinking Clergy.

Is this the Prelate who can lead the Church? The Church *must* be led: gently, but firmly and consistently. It will not do any longer merely to balance opposing and conflicting elements.

Mr. Disraeli wishes not to conceal the infinite pain with which he thus seems to differ, on so great a question, from a Sovereign to whom he is not only bound by every tie of personal devotion, but whose

large, and peculiarly experienced, intelligence he acknowledges and appreciates, and whose judgment on many occasions would have more influence with him, than that of all his colleagues.

All that he desires is, that his views should be placed before your Majesty, and that they should be considered. Whatever your Majesty's final judgment under such circumstances, he is disposed to believe the best: nor is there anything that he would more deprecate than that your Majesty should ever, on any subject, give a constrained assent to any of his counsels. That would cause a cloud between your Majesty and himself, than which nothing could be more injurious to the satisfactory government of your Majesty's realm.

His idea of the perfect relations between the Sovereign and her Minister is, that there should be, on her part, perfect confidence; on his, perfect devotion. In the blended influence of two such sentiments, so ennobling and so refined, he sees the best security for your Majesty's happiness, and the welfare of the realm.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Disraeli.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 6*th Nov.* 1868.—The Queen thanks Mr. Disraeli for his long letter which she found on arriving here yesterday. She has read with the most careful attention all the objections made by him to the promotion of the Bishop of London; but is *still* of opinion that he would be the proper person, indeed the only proper person, to succeed the late Archbishop, and she cannot agree in the opinion given by Mr. Disraeli of the failing estimation in which he is held.

The Queen *herself* would feel much more confidence in his dealing wisely and prudently with the existing difficulties of the Church, and at the same time with more firmness and decision, than any other Bishop on the Bench.[1]

[1] Mr. Disraeli gave way, and Dr. Tait became Archbishop.

Under no circumstances, however, could the Queen approve of the promotion of Dr. Ellicott; and, should Mr. Disraeli still object to the Bishop of London, she would more gladly see the Bishop of Ely, or the Bishop of Lincoln, or the Bishop of Lichfield promoted than the Bishop of Gloucester. She has always heard these Bishops well spoken of, as men distinguished for piety and learning, and moderation of opinion.

The Queen has had a most grateful, delighted letter from Mr. Prothero.

General Grey to Mr. Disraeli.

[*Copy.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, 10*th November* 1868.

MY DEAR DISRAELI,—The Queen feels so tired to-day that she is quite unequal to the task of writing to you herself, and therefore commands me to do so in her name, in answer to your letter of this morning.

Her Majesty is sure you cannot doubt her desire to give you every support in your arduous position that she properly can. But there seem to her Majesty to be some considerations as regards a distribution of Honours, avowedly for the purpose of influencing Elections which are to determine the fate of a Ministry, to which she would wish to call your serious attention. She has not concealed from you the opinion she entertains on the question which is now before the country. But on this, as on all other political questions on which her Majesty may entertain decided views, she feels it necessary to avoid with the greatest care doing anything in support of those views which might have, in any degree, the appearance of *partisanship*—a thing of which her Majesty has endeavoured, she trusts not unsuccessfully, to steer clear throughout her reign.

Her Majesty also feels bound to consider carefully what the effect might be, as a future precedent, of consenting to a large grant of Honours at such a moment as this.

When Lord Russell left office, he asked the Queen

to allow him to make several Peers, but her Majesty refused, on the ground that it might prove a most inconvenient precedent, if every outgoing Minister should think himself entitled to claim a similar privilege. Now she would ask you yourself to consider, whether it would not be a still more inconvenient precedent, and even a dangerous one, were a Minister, appealing to the country against an adverse House of Commons, and staking his Ministerial existence on the issue of the elections, to claim, as if it were a right, established by precedent, the power of trying to influence those elections by the distribution of Honours, as a proof, at such a critical moment, of the Sovereign's favour and support.

This seems to the Queen a very different thing from giving her Minister, whoever he may be, every constitutional proof that he possesses her confidence in conducting public affairs; and such proof she is sure you will acknowledge she has always been ready and anxious to afford you.

At the same time the Queen is unwilling altogether to refuse your request, and would not object to those whose names you had before submitted to her, receiving Baronetcies, though it would be well, her Majesty thinks, to postpone them till after the Elections.—C. GREY.

Lord Stanley to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 10*th Nov.* 1868.—Lord Stanley, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty a copy of the convention[1] this day signed with the United States Minister on the question of *Alabama* and other claims, which convention is based on the memorandum approved by your Majesty.

Queen Victoria to Lord Stanley.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11*th Nov.* 1868.—The Queen is delighted at this most important event, and congratulates Lord Stanley most sincerely on his success

[1] See Introductory Note.

in bringing to a settlement questions which have for years threatened the Peace of Europe.

She wishes to have a copy of the Treaty which she entirely approves.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 20*th Nov.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

The High Church party are much enraged with the Episcopal appointments, and are endeavouring, in consequence, injuriously to influence the County elections.

It is thought, that the preferment, which Mr. Disraeli solicited for Mr. Gregory[1] of Lambeth, would be well-timed, and advantageous to your Majesty's Government. Mr. Gregory is a representative man: a High Churchman, but staunchly Conservative. It is believed by Mr. Hardy that the personal influence and active interposition of Mr. Gregory mainly occasioned the recent withdrawal of Sir R[oundell] Palmer from the University candidature. Mr. Gregory is also a zealous and very influential Parish priest among the masses of Lambeth.

Mr. Disraeli, therefore, earnestly hopes that your Majesty will grant his request on this head.

Dean Wellesley to Queen Victoria.

THE DEANERY, 21*st Nov.* 1868.—The Dean of Windsor's humble duty to your Majesty. Mr. Prothero was here last night, and is anxious for the exchange, at all events, and as he informed the Dean that Mr. Disraeli told him at their interview he might exchange if he pleased, and as your Majesty, in the letter (returned) to Mr. Disraeli, sanctions the exchange, the Dean concludes that it will be so settled.

He has told Mr. P. that he had better settle it with Mr. Disraeli.[2]

[1] Who was appointed now a Canon of St. Paul's, and eventually became Dean.

[2] Accordingly Mr. Prothero became Canon of Westminster and not of St. Paul's.

Mr. Disraeli has behaved so well towards your Majesty, in all these Church appointments, that the Dean greatly regrets that he has not some more fixed principle about them than the mere political bias they may have one way or other.

Thus it was first insisted upon that the Protestant party must be conciliated. Hence the appointments, suggested by your Majesty, of excellent men of that side.

Now there is equal alarm, because the High Church party are enraged on the other hand. The Dean, however, is convinced that these Church matters do not influence a vote in the elections, but that the general respect of all moderate men of all parties has been greatly increased for Mr. Disraeli, by the late appointments for which he has the credit as Minister.

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

[*Undated.*]—General Grey presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He always bears in mind the wish so strongly expressed by your Majesty, that, in case of a change of Government, some means might be found of averting, what would be unpleasant to your Majesty—namely: Lord Clarendon's re-appointment to the Foreign Office.

As there can be no doubt whatever of the majority against the Government being even larger than the most sanguine calculations of the Liberal Party had ventured to anticipate; and as Mr. Disraeli's own colleagues, the Duke of Marlborough and Sir Stafford Northcote especially, were very strong in their recommendation of an early dissolution, so that they might be relieved before Christmas, from what they looked upon as the *intolerable* position of being a Ministry upon sufferance, it seems certain that the Government will have to resign as soon as Parliament meets.

General Grey thought it as well therefore again to see the Dean upon the subject of his using any influence he may possess with Mr. Gladstone, before it

is too late, in order to prevent the offer of the Foreign Office being made to Lord Clarendon, as, once made, it would be difficult to set it aside.

The Dean quite enters into all the objections to Lord Clarendon, but shrinks himself from taking any steps in the matter, though, if Mr. Gladstone himself began the subject, he would not lose the opportunity of trying to assist your Majesty's wishes. But he anticipates so many possible difficulties with Mr. Gladstone on religious questions and appointments, that he thinks he had better reserve his interference for questions on which he may be of more assistance to your Majesty.

Under these circumstances, General Grey can suggest nothing better than that he should speak confidentially to Lord Halifax, who, whether he forms part of the Government or not, is sure to be much consulted during its formation.[1] . . .

[*Copy.*] *Memorandum by Queen Victoria.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22*nd Nov.* 1868.—Lord Stanley said this evening to the Queen of his own accord that he saw no object for the Government to wait till the meeting of Parliament to resign, that the thing was settled, and that it was ludicrous to wait for an adverse vote; that he had ventured to say this to the Prime Minister, and that he seemed to concur.

He said, they would be very much where they were before; he did not think the majority against them would be much more than 70.

The Queen expressed herself in favour of present resignation, as this was less painful to herself and more dignified for the Ministers themselves.

General Grey to Queen Victoria.

23*rd Nov.* 1868.—Your Majesty will find Mr. Disraeli quite prepared to resign at once. They

[1] General Grey did speak to Lord Halifax, who promised to talk to Mr. Gladstone.

have carried several Counties to-day, but it does not, he admits, alter the general result; and he had already talked the question over with Lord Stanley, and meant to summon a Cabinet on Saturday, when he had no doubt of a unanimous resolution to resign, and he would probably ask leave to wait upon your Majesty on Sunday.

Nothing could have been more proper or manly than his way of taking what he admits to be a total defeat, and he spoke to General Grey with the most perfect confidence, and in the most friendly spirit, which he could not help being touched with. For it must be very galling to anyone in his position to find general opinion so strongly pronounced against him.

[*Same Day.*]—This is, indeed, as your Majesty says, very embarrassing,[1] and General Grey can quite understand your Majesty's feeling—the desire to do what would gratify Mr. Disraeli, who certainly deserves it at your Majesty's hand, and yet not to expose him to the attacks, and even ridicule, which would surely follow the creation of Mrs. Disraeli a peeress in her own right, which is evidently the object to which he alluded.

General Grey much doubts whether he would himself wish to retire so completely from public life, as would be implied by his taking a Peerage; and indeed he does not know whether this would not be even more injurious to him himself, than making Mrs. Disraeli a peeress. The Bath is not an Honour in which she would share, further than that it would make him Sir Benjamin, and her Lady Disraeli. It is what could not be objected to, if he would be satisfied with it; but he has evidently had the Peerage either for himself or Mrs. Disraeli in view, and if General Grey ventures to doubt the expediency of the latter, at all events, it is really more from the

[1] The recommendation of Mrs. Disraeli for a peerage. The correspondence which passed between Mr. Disraeli and the Queen on the subject is given in full in the *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 2.

belief that it would not be a kindness to Mrs. Disraeli to subject her to what would be made a subject of endless ridicule.

In asking Mr. Disraeli to state plainly in writing what he wishes, your Majesty has taken the best course, and should it then appear that he does wish for this Peerage, General Grey hardly likes to advise your Majesty to refuse it. And yet—in short, he sees all the embarrassment of the question, but does not see a satisfactory way out of it.

The offer of the Bath would be the proper thing. But then comes the doubt whether he would be satisfied.

The resignation before the meeting of Parliament makes it easier for your Majesty to give the Peerage, than if he had waited to resign in consequence of an adverse vote.

On the whole, then, though with much doubt and diffidence, General Grey is inclined to think your Majesty will be better pleased to comply with his wishes than to refuse them, and would therefore venture to advise your Majesty to follow the dictates of your Majesty's own kind heart.

Mrs. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

GROSVENOR GATE, 26*th Nov.* 1868.—Mrs. Disraeli with her humble duty to your Majesty.

Words but faintly would convey her sense of gratitude for the high honour your Majesty has been pleased to confer on her, and her happiness at knowing she is indebted, for that condescending kindness, to your Majesty's appreciation of Mr. Disraeli.

Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 27*th Nov.* 1868.—Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to your Majesty.

The Cabinet is over, and has arrived at the conclusion he wished, though after much criticism, and great apprehension, that the Conservative party, not only in Parliament, may be offended and alienated.

Assisted by Lord Stanley, and by the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Disraeli successfully combated these fears, and adopted several suggestions, which were made, sensible and ingenious, which are calculated to prevent their occurrence.

The Cabinet is very desirous, that the most profound secrecy should be observed, in which case, they think, much advantage to their interests may accrue; and they expressed a very strong desire, that, unless absolutely necessary, Mr. Disraeli should not go to Windsor to-night, as only one interpretation to-morrow could be placed on his visit.

Knowing your Majesty's gracious indulgence, which he ever experiences, and recollecting your Majesty's considerate telegram, for which he humbly thanks your Majesty, he ventured to postpone his visit until the critical day, which, with your Majesty's permission, shall be Tuesday.

Your Majesty may then, if it please your Majesty, summon his successor to attend in audience on the following Wednesday, and Mr. Disraeli calculates, that your Majesty's comfort and convenience, ever present to him, will be thus secured.

The Cabinet did not approve of a manifesto addressed to any individual, and finally, after many suggestions, it was agreed, that it should take the form of the circular addressed, at this period of the year, by the Leader of the House of Commons to his adherents about to assemble.

Memorandum by General Grey.

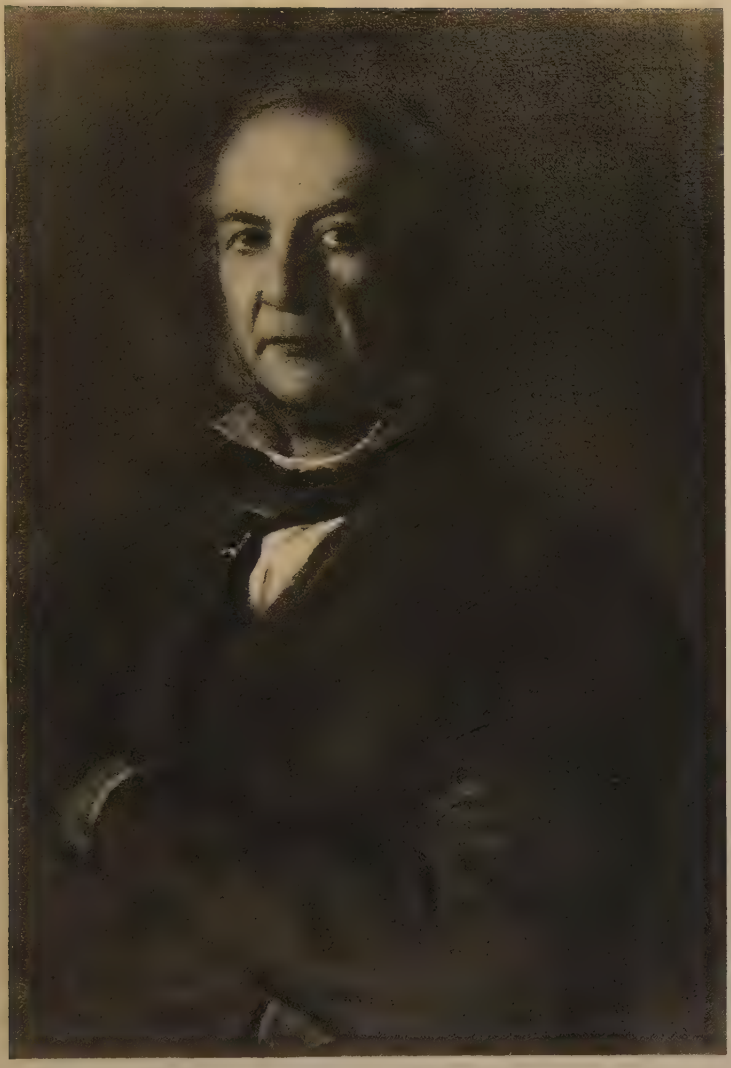
4th Dec. 1868.—On Tuesday, December 1st, Mr. Disraeli came down to Windsor in consequence of a resolution adopted by the Cabinet the day before, and tendered his resignation to the Queen. It was accepted, and her Majesty at once wrote to Mr. Gladstone, and directed General Grey to take the letter[1] to him, as he had done in 1866 to Lord Derby,

[1] The text of this letter, commissioning Mr. Gladstone to form a Government, is printed in the *Life of Gladstone*, bk. v, ch. 16.

in order that he might explain verbally to him certain objections which her Majesty entertained to the return to office of some of those who had formed part of Lord Russell's Government.

General Grey accordingly telegraphed to Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden Castle near Chester, to know where he should deliver the letter; as he had reason to believe that Mr. Gladstone, who had been previously apprised through Lord Halifax of the probable resignation of Ministers, and that he (Mr. G.) would be sent for by the Queen, would at once understand what the telegram meant, and come straight to London. Mr. Gladstone, however, answered by requesting General Grey to go down to Hawarden, thinking, as he afterwards explained by a letter, (which, however, General G. did not receive till after his return from Hawarden) that in the present posture of affairs, it was better so, as attracting less attention.

General Grey, therefore, proceeded to Hawarden by the 9.45 train, direct from Windsor to Chester, where he arrived at 4.15 p.m. There he found Mrs. Gladstone waiting for him at the station, who insisted on General Grey staying for the night. (It had been his intention to sleep at Chester, and to take the 2.15 a.m. train, the Irish Mail, back.) He found in the course of his drive that Mrs. G. knew everything that had passed! The Queen's objections, etc. etc.!! On arriving at Hawarden he was taken at once by Mrs. Gladstone into an almost dark room—the only light being the fire, and the two candles by which Mr. Gladstone was working. He was received with the most open, frank and cordial manner by Mr. G., to whom he at once delivered the Queen's letter; and as soon as he (Mr. G.) had finished its perusal, General G. entered fully and unreservedly into all the objections entertained by the Queen, first to the return of Lord Clarendon to the Foreign Office, and then to the re-appointment of certain Lords-in-Waiting. The latter part of the subject may be dismissed at once, for though Mr.



The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone.
1867
From a drawing by George Richmond, R.A. at Hawarden Castle.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
PUBLIC LIBRARIES
Hither Green
BRANCH

Gladstone expressed great regret, in the sense of personal regard and friendship for some of those who had formed part of her Majesty's Household under Lord Russell, that her Majesty should object to receive them again; yet he left the impression in General Grey's mind, that he would make *no objection to whatever the Queen might wish*, and that none of these Household appointments should be made a stumbling-block.

As to Lord Clarendon the case was different, and involved in considerable difficulty. He had only spoken to three men on the chances of a change of Government, and those three were Lord Clarendon himself, to whom he expressed his wish, in case of a change of Government, to see him return to his old post; Lord Granville, and Mr. Cardwell. He would not say that Lord C. was *essential* to the power of forming a Government, and indeed he himself thought Lord Granville fully as good a Foreign Minister, if not better; but after what he had said to Lord Clarendon, now six months ago, how could he pass him over without leading the world to think that he was excluded on account of some *Court manœuvre*? This would fall on the Queen direct, and should if possible be avoided. After discussing the matter in every shape, it was agreed that the best way would be for General G. to telegraph in cypher to her Majesty, to say that Mr. G. had every wish to meet her Majesty's wishes on *all* points, but that, as regarded Lord C. and the F.O., he feared his exclusion would be misunderstood, and that therefore he would ask to be allowed to have an audience the next day on his way to London, before he saw any of his friends. It was settled that he should go up with General Grey the next morning at 9.25 straight to Windsor, General Grey telegraphing to have the train stopped at Slough. At Chester a telegram was given to General Grey the next morning, saying the Queen would give Mr. Gladstone an audience before three or after five.

On the way up Mr. Gladstone entered very freely and unreservedly with General Grey into all the most pressing questions of the day. Of these the Irish Church was undoubtedly the most important; and General Grey began the subject, by saying that Mr. Gladstone must be prepared to find the Queen entertaining a very strong opinion in favour of the Irish Church. "Yes," said Mr. Gladstone, "and also that she disapproves very strongly of the time and manner in which the question was raised!" This General Grey did not deny, when Mr. Gladstone went on to defend the course he had pursued, or rather to explain the motives on which he had acted. He had made up his mind, he said, that the Irish Church *must* be dealt with, when reading, in the railroad, the account of the rescue of the Fenian prisoners at Manchester. And so far from what he did being prompted by the thought of thereby embarrassing his opponents, while he strengthened himself with the Liberal party, he believed at the time that it would have the effect of weakening his personal position, and he had been *astonished* by the way in which it had been taken up. But though he expected to find his proceeding widely condemned even on his own side of the House, he had convinced himself that it was the most favourable moment for mooting the question; for sure he was, had he waited till he was in office to propose a measure for dealing thus summarily with the Irish Church, he would have been driven from office in a week. General Grey said he imagined that he would not, in the Speech from the Throne, commit the Queen to more than a recommendation that the subject should be seriously considered—and he said certainly not. . . .

Mr. Gladstone did not say, and General Grey did not ask him how he proposed to fill up the different offices. He spoke of the impossibility, he feared, of taking in Sir Roundell Palmer,[1] and of the antagonism

[1] Who, while he was prepared to acquiesce in the disestablishment, found himself unable to support the disendowment, of the Irish Church.

of Mr. Bright and Mr. Lowe, which might render it doubtful whether either would take office. He had not read Mr. Bright's speech at Edinburgh, which General Grey mentioned, as being, in his opinion, a sort of declaration that he did not mean to take office; and Mr. Gladstone admitted the utter impracticability of the plan he had seen alluded to in *The Times*, of referring the estimates for preparation to committees of the House of Commons. And Mr. Lowe, too, had propounded equally wild notions respecting Reform of the House of Lords! As regarded Mr. Bright especially he thought it would be a misfortune were he not in the Government. That he was singularly agreeable and gentle in his manner, and that he thought the Queen would like him. Mr. Gladstone spoke much of the older Leaders of Parties—of Lord Derby and Lord Russell—that they were alike in this respect—that the early career of each had been the most distinguished, and that both had lost reputation in later years. That ever since '41, when Lord Russell wrote his famous letter on free trade from Edinburgh, he had gradually lost ground in public estimation. Of that letter he said Lord Russell, who was always ready to tell stories against himself, told him that it was much objected to in the Cabinet, in which there was a warm debate upon it, threatening to break up the Government, when Lord Melbourne put an end to discussion by saying, "Well, Gentlemen, there is no doubt that John Russell's letter is a d——d letter: but he has written it, and we must go through with it!"

In speaking of the County elections, in which Mr. Gladstone attributed the general defeat of the Liberal candidates to the active exertions of the country clergy, he said it was a source of consolation to him, amid the troubles to which the Church had been exposed by her internal differences during the last few years, to find that the influence of the clergy, when they chose to exert it, was still so powerful.

Mr. Gladstone arrived at Windsor a little before

four; and soon after five had his audience of the Queen, leaving Windsor for London by the 6.15 train, South-Western line.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *3rd Dec.* 1868.—I saw Mr. Gladstone at twenty minutes past five, he having come from Hawarden with General Grey. I said I knew he had consented to form a Government. He was most cordial and kind in his manner, and nothing could be more satisfactory than the whole interview.

I will not recapitulate what General Grey states in his memorandum, but merely say that he [Mr. Gladstone] repeated what he had said to General G. about Lord Clarendon, and I also to him more in detail what my objections to him were: his temper, his manner, his want of discretion, etc. The final agreement was that Mr. Gladstone should see Lord Clarendon at once this evening, that he would *probe* him as to his views and feelings about the Foreign Office, would dwell upon his bad health and see if *he could* get him, without compromising me, to take any other office; if he found this impossible without its appearing to be a personal objection of mine, he would take care to prevent my being annoyed with him, for that must not be; that (as I suggested) he should be brought as little in personal contact with me as possible, and that he would, as from himself, and speaking of himself (for he said it was his *own* fault not to be cautious enough with his tongue) tell him how necessary it was that *all* the Ministers should consider my feelings; and he should *not* propose him to me unless he felt satisfied on that point. He had *only* spoken to *three* people on the possibility of a change of Government, and those three were: Lord Clarendon some months ago (unfortunately as it now happened), Lord Granville, and Mr. Cardwell.

Speaking of other offices, what he had thought of (he had mentioned it to no one) was: Lord Granville

for the Colonies (if Lord C. went to the F.O.), the Duke of Argyll as Lord President (which he thought I would like), Sir Page Wood as Lord Chancellor—a man of the highest character and formerly Attorney-General—as Sir Roundell Palmer was unfortunately impossible on account of his views on this Church question; for *War* Mr. Cardwell would be excellent, for he said it required a cautious, conciliatory and experienced man; for the Admiralty Mr. Childers, one of their ablest men, who he was sure would do remarkably well. Then I asked what was to be done about Mr. Bright, whom I had not the slightest objection to? He did not know at all what he would wish and what his powers of work would be; but that he thought India would do for him; he was sure I would like him, as he was kind and genial. Then he said, he must approach another remarkable but rather peculiar person—viz. Mr. Lowe. This would be a difficulty, as he and Mr. Bright disliked each other; he must see how that could be managed. He was a man "of a very angular mind." He thought of making him Chancellor of the Exchequer. Then there was Lord Russell, who I said ought surely not to be thought of. He agreed in this; but said he feared he might be more troublesome out of, than in, office, though he believed Lord Russell would be very glad if he was clear of it, as "he had, for the last few years, done nothing but injure a brilliant reputation." Of course, if he came in, he would have no office, but merely be *in* the Cabinet—like Lord Lansdowne. There was also Sir G. Grey whom he would much like to have had, but I said I believed he did not wish to take office again.

I told him that the Duchess of Wellington would resign, and I expressed an anxious wish, in which he entirely concurred, that the Duchess of Argyll should accept the office. It is to be pressed on her. Lord Sydney to be Lord Chamberlain; and the other offices and the Lords-in-Waiting he would talk over with Lord Granville and then submit the names to

me. He just alluded to Lord de Tabley—but nothing more.

There was no exact precedent for how to proceed when Parliament met, whether the Writs could be moved and Parliament prorogued without a Speech or not. He must enquire. He would write as soon as he had seen Lord Clarendon, and I said could always ask to see me at half past two or after five, if he would telegraph before.

He left at six for London.—V. R.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, *4th Dec.* 1868.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone very sincerely for the kindness of his letter received last night, and for the anxiety which he has shown to make the communications with her Ministers as easy as possible to her. She is too straightforward not to *own* to Mr. Gladstone that she *regrets* the unavoidable conclusion which his conversation with Lord Clarendon has led to; but we must *hope* that all will go smoothly. There are still some matters of a personal nature connected with Lord Clarendon which the Queen would wish to talk to Mr. Gladstone about when she next sees him.

The Queen quite approves that he should, *in strict confidence*, inform Lord Granville of what has passed.

She is very anxious to hear what other arrangements Mr. Gladstone has as yet been able to make.

She forgot to mention to him how glad she would have been, if Lord Halifax could have been in the Cabinet in some office with but little work. His ability and experience would be very valuable, and the Queen has personally a great regard for him.

Earl Granville to General Grey.

Confidential. 16 BRUTON STREET, *5th December* 1868.

MY DEAR GREY,—Gladstone told me something last night which filled me with pleasure. I will not

try to say how grateful I am at this fresh proof of her Majesty's confidence and kindness.

I have been working hard to get Halifax into the Cabinet. There is no doubt of the difficulty for G. in this matter; but a word *spoken* by the Queen would force him to overcome it. He came back delighted with the Queen's reception. He is completely under the charm. Yours, G.

Earl Russell to Queen Victoria.

PEMBROKE LODGE, *7th Dec.* 1868.—Lord Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty; he feels much touched and gratified by the terms of your Majesty's letter.

Had there been any deficiency of persons fit to represent Mr. Gladstone's administration in the House of Lords, and to propose in that House measures passed with the sanction of your Majesty's Government through the House of Commons, Lord Russell would not have shrunk from any labour which an office not over-taxed with work might have imposed on him. But with the aid of such men as Lord Granville, Lord Clarendon and the Duke of Argyll, besides others, ability, zeal and weight will not be wanting.

A seat in the Cabinet without office seems to Lord Russell to be without any adequate advantage to your Majesty, or to the public service.

After leading the Liberal party in the House of Commons for twenty years, and having entered the Cabinet twenty-seven years ago, the same year as Lord Derby, Lord Russell thinks he is more likely to compose differences, and induce the House of Lords to avoid dangerous struggles, by remaining unconnected with office, than by appearing as an interested party in future debates.

Lord Russell cannot conclude without expressing his deep and loyal gratitude to your Majesty for support and kindness, from the date of your Majesty's accession, to the hour when your Majesty wrote the

letter to which he is now replying. He on his part puts up an earnest prayer to God for your Majesty's welfare, in public and in private.

Lady Russell joins in this prayer, and is grateful for your Majesty's recollection of her husband.

Mr. Gladstone's Ministry.

First Lord of the Treasury	W. E. Gladstone.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Hatherley.
Lord President of the Council	Earl de Grey and Ripon.
Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Kimberley.
Home Secretary	H. Austin Bruce.
Foreign Secretary	Earl of Clarendon.
Colonial Secretary	Earl Granville.
War Secretary	Edward Cardwell.
Indian Secretary	Duke of Argyll.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Robert Lowe.
First Lord of the Admiralty	H. C. E. Childers.
President of the Board of Trade	John Bright.
President of the Poor Law Board	George J. Goschen.
Postmaster-General	Marquis of Hartington.
Chief Secretary for Ireland	Chichester Fortescue.

Queen Victoria to the Duchess of Argyll.

[*Copy.*] Windsor Castle, 11*th December* 1868.

Dearest Elizabeth,—The Duchess of Wellington having resigned her office of Mistress of the Robes, I am desirous of offering it to you, feeling that no one could be more agreeable to me than yourself. To have in that position at my Court the daughter of my dearest friend who for so many years held that office,[1] whom I have known from her earliest childhood, and who is so worthy of her beloved mother, would be a great comfort and satisfaction to me.

I have told the Duke how easy it is to lighten all the duties for you, and indeed they are not any longer of a fatiguing nature in consequence of the retired life I lead.

Hoping to see you on Wednesday, believe me always, yours very affectionately, V. R.

[1] Harriet Duchess of Sutherland, wife of the 2nd Duke.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 14*th Dec.* 1868.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to say that no fresh intelligence has arrived respecting the Turco-Greek question,[1] but, from despatches which the French Ambassador has this morning read, there appears to be a general condemnation of the course pursued by the Greek Government, and that Prince Gortchakoff in particular has expressed himself strongly to the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg, upon the right of the Porte to resent the misconduct of that Government; but he hoped at the same time that matters would not be pushed too far, and that the Porte would not proceed to the extreme measure of expelling all Greek subjects from the Turkish territory.

The language of the French Government is of the same character, and the last despatch of M. de Moustier to the French Minister at Athens expresses strong disapprobation of the proceedings of the Greek Government.

The American negotiations are in an unsatisfactory state, and Lord Clarendon much fears that Mr. Seward does not wish or intend that they should terminate satisfactorily. This was also the opinion of Lord Stanley, with whom Lord Clarendon has discussed the subject. Mr. Reverdy Johnson, however, thinks differently, and says all will end well; but Lord Clarendon fears that every fresh concession on our part will only be followed by fresh demands on the part of the United States.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 17*th Dec.* 1868.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He has received, through Lord Granville, the signification of your Majesty's desire to be made acquainted with the purport of any intended measure

[1] See Introductory Note.

in relation to the Church of Ireland, so soon as it shall be fully conceived in its essential outlines, and before it is submitted for adoption by the Cabinet.

Mr. Gladstone is so far from having any difficulty in complying with your Majesty's gracious wish, that it is in effect conformable to his own views, and, moreover, that if at any period during the recess of Parliament, your Majesty shall desire to be informed on any particular branch of a question so manifold and complex, Mr. Gladstone will endeavour to explain to your Majesty the general views which may appear to be open for consideration or likely to be adopted.

At the same time Mr. Gladstone is humbly desirous your Majesty should know that in his opinion, often expressed to friends, the period required for maturing a full measure in relation to the Irish Church, in such a way as to do perfect justice to the subject, ought to be not less than six months. Your Majesty will not, therefore, be surprised if, with a much shorter period before him and before the Government for consideration and enquiry, some time shall elapse before he is in a condition spontaneously to tender to your Majesty the conclusions which he would be prepared to recommend to his colleagues.

General Grey to the Earl of Clarendon.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 21*st December* 1868.

DEAR LORD CLARENDON,—The Queen desires me to say that she quite approves of the new Minister whom the King of the Belgians proposes to send here.

Her Majesty also wishes me to send you the enclosed copy of part of a letter from the Prince of Wales. She feels very strongly that a visit from his Royal Highness to Athens at this moment would be singularly ill-timed.

Even if hostilities between Turkey and Greece should be averted, the occurrence of which would make it impossible to take the Princess there, it would hardly be right, her Majesty thinks, considering

what the conduct of Greece has been, that such an apparent encouragement should be given to its Government, as would be implied in a visit from the Heir Apparent of the English Crown.

If you agree in this view, her Majesty thinks it would be well if you wrote, as from yourself, speaking as Foreign Minister, to the Prince of Wales, and without mentioning her Majesty. It would be more likely, she thinks, to produce an effect.[1] . . .—C. GREY.

General Grey to Mr. Bruce.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 28*th December* 1868.

DEAR MR. BRUCE,—The Queen desires me to say how grieved and concerned she is to hear of the death of Sir Richard Mayne.

Notwithstanding the attacks lately made upon him, her Majesty believes him to have been a most efficient Head of the Police, and to have discharged the duties of his important situation most ably and satisfactorily in very difficult times. She would now be glad to hear what you propose to do, for she thinks it will be difficult to replace him.

When Mr. Hardy was last at Windsor, he mentioned having some plan in contemplation for dividing the Police Force into districts, each under a responsible head, leaving only the general superintendence of the whole to the Chief Commissioner, and thus lightening the duties which weighed very heavily upon Sir Richard. But he did not explain what it was.—C. GREY.

[1] Lord Clarendon wrote to the Prince, and the visit was given up.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
Hither Green
BRANCH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII

The Parliamentary Session of 1869 was mainly occupied with Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of Ireland. Introduced in the House of Commons on 1st March, and advocated by the Prime Minister in speeches of lofty eloquence, it was read a second time, after four days' debate, in the early morning of the 4th March, by the normal Government majority of 118—368 against 250. It passed through Committee without serious amendment, and was read a third time on the last day of May by a majority of 114. Great and widespread anxiety was felt about the treatment which the Bill would receive in the House of Lords, as it was known that a large majority of the Peers were hostile to Mr. Gladstone's policy. The Queen, who regretted that the question had ever been raised, exerted herself nevertheless to secure that the Lords should not disregard what Mr. Gladstone called "the emphatic verdict of the nation." Her Majesty pleaded for moderation with leading men of both parties; and, in particular, appealed to Archbishop Tait, who had just brought to the primatial see a considerable reputation, acquired as Bishop of London, for judgment and leadership, to do what he could to prevent a collision between the two Houses.[1] A party meeting of Conservative Peers resolved to oppose the second reading, and the former Prime Minister, Lord Derby, reappeared (only four months before his death) to denounce the Bill; but owing to the advice of the Archbishop, and of Lord Salisbury, the second reading was carried on 19th June by the respectable majority of 33—179 against 146, 36 Conservative Peers voting in its favour, and a greater number abstaining. The two Archbishops and some of the Bishops abstained; but the only episcopal vote for the Bill was that of Bishop Thirlwall.

There followed in Committee a series of somewhat drastic amendments, making ampler pecuniary provision than the

[1] As the correspondence between Queen Victoria and Archbishop Tait in regard to the Irish Church Bill is given very fully in the *Life of Archbishop Tait*, ch. 19, it is not reprinted here.

Bill allowed for the Church about to be disestablished, and postponing the application of the bulk of the surplus (instead of converting it to secular uses), while allocating a portion for the needs of Roman Catholic priests and Presbyterian ministers. The more important amendments, including that in favour of concurrent endowment, were rejected by the Commons; but Lord Granville was able to claim, when the measure returned to the House of Lords, that 35 of the Lords' 62 amendments had been accepted, and only 13 absolutely rejected. The Upper House, however, on 20th July determined, by a majority of 173 to 95, to insist on its amendment altering the disposition of the surplus. It seemed as if the Bill must be lost, and a serious constitutional crisis precipitated. But, at this eleventh hour, Lord Cairns held a conference with Lord Granville, and on 22nd July the House of Lords was informed that an agreement had been effected. Concurrent endowment was given up by the Opposition; but the Government conceded that the pecuniary provision should be somewhat enlarged, and that the surplus should be employed for the relief of unavoidable calamity, and in such manner as Parliament should hereafter direct. Both Houses accepted the compromise, and on 26th July the Bill received the Royal Assent.

In France a very important change took place this year in the Imperial system. Hitherto, since the establishment of the Second Empire, the system had been one of personal Government by the Emperor, his Ministers having no responsibility save to him. Whether, with failing health, he felt the burden too great, or whether he was impressed by the renascence of Liberal ideas in France, he now proposed to make an advance towards constitutional government as understood elsewhere, by introducing the principle of ministerial responsibility to the Legislature. A *senatus consultum* to effect this change was passed on 8th September. It cost him the loss of his Minister, M. Rouher; and eventually on 27th December he had recourse to M. Emile Ollivier, formerly an active opponent, now a Liberal supporter, of the Empire, asking him to form a homogeneous Cabinet to aid the head of the State in bringing into working order a constitutional system.

In Spain the Constituent Cortes adopted a monarchical form of Government, and appointed Marshal Serrano Regent of the Kingdom. A Ministry was formed with General

Prim at its head. The difficulty was to secure a satisfactory King. The throne was offered in the autumn to the Duke of Genoa, King Victor Emmanuel's nephew, a boy of fifteen at Harrow. Neither the Prince nor his relatives were prepared to accept. Meanwhile Spain itself was far from quiet, a turbulent minority being strongly in favour of a Republic.

At the beginning of the year a Conference of the Great Powers in Paris composed for the time the dispute between Turkey and Greece by insisting that the Greeks should respect the rules common to all Governments in their future dealings with the Ottoman Empire. In April the Senate of the United States refused to ratify the Alabama Convention which had been negotiated in England by Mr. Reverdy Johnson. In the autumn Mr. Hamilton Fish, the new Secretary of State, in a despatch, the facts and arguments of which were vigorously disputed by Lord Clarendon, insisted on a very extreme view of the American claims against Great Britain.

In the last month of the year the Suez Canal, by which the East and the West were brought enormously closer to each other, was opened with great ceremony, the Empress Eugénie coming from France to be present; and in the same month there assembled in Rome at the bidding of the Pope an Œcumenical Council of some 800 ecclesiastics, which was regarded with considerable suspicion by the civil Governments of Europe, owing to the general belief that it was intended to erect into an article of faith the dogma of Papal infallibility.

CHAPTER VIII

1869

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

OSBORNE, 1*st Jan.* 1869.—The Queen thanks Mr. Martin very much for his two letters and for the *cheque* which she has this day sent to Mr. Helps. She quite approves of what he intends doing with the remaining £4,016 6*s.* Of this the Queen would wish him to send her a cheque for £50, which she wishes to give away. £2,516 she wishes *absolutely* to devote to *a* charity such as she spoke of, and the remaining £1,450 she wishes to keep for other gifts of a *charitable* nature, at least to people who are *not rich.* Would Mr. Martin just keep an account of the sums *he sends her* so that we may know how and at what time the money has been disposed of? The Queen will keep a copy with the names which she does not wish others to know. . . .[1]

General Grey to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*] OSBORNE, 8*th January* 1869.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,—The Queen commands me to return Mr. Latouche's letter, containing the very liberal, and indeed noble offer of a residence in Ireland for her Majesty or for members of the Royal family.

[1] This letter refers, of course, to the profits on the Queen's book, *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands*, published early in 1868, edited by Mr. Helps.

The considerations put forward by Mr. Latouche for making the offer, are such as it is clearly the duty of the Government to give their serious attention to; and you cannot doubt that it must be her Majesty's most anxious wish, as, indeed, she feels it to be her duty, to do whatever she can, as Sovereign of this great Empire, towards laying the foundation of a better state of things in Ireland.

But there are many considerations, on the other hand, opposed to the establishment of a fixed Royal residence in Ireland. It would in the first place entail an expense to keep it up, which it would be quite out of the power of either the Queen or Prince of Wales to meet, without the assistance of the Government; and unless it were constantly occupied either by her Majesty herself, or by some members of her family, the disappointment arising from its non-occupation would probably do more harm than could be compensated by the short stay from time to time which is the utmost that could be expected from them.

It is her Majesty's anxious wish, whenever circumstances permit, as she authorised me to tell Lord Spencer,[1] to take an opportunity of making herself acquainted with the fine scenery of Ireland, and with the character of its peasantry, by visits of a few weeks from time to time; always provided that she is allowed to do so, without being pressed to make public entrances into any large towns, or to hold receptions. If, in short, she can visit the country quietly, as she makes excursions in Scotland, without going near Edinburgh or Glasgow.

But it must be distinctly understood that such visits cannot be of frequent occurrence. Suffering as her Majesty does at sea, the necessity of having to cross the Channel would alone make this impossible. It must also be left entirely to the Queen herself to fix the time and duration of her visits. She must also protest against the unfair way in which Scot-

[1] Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

land is always brought forward, as a reason why she should reside in the same manner in other parts of her dominions. Balmoral was selected as a residence simply because it was a place where, at the same time that the Queen found the repose, quiet, and liberty she so much required, the Prince could enjoy his favourite sport of deer-stalking, while the bracing nature, and extreme salubrity of the climate, has been found to be so beneficial to the Queen's health (indeed so necessary to it), that she is naturally always anxious to go there whenever, and for as long a time as, she can.

Nothing, therefore, invidious to any other part of the Kingdom was intended by its selection, nor can it now give any just cause for jealousy.

Leaving you to give such an answer to Mr. Latouche as the liberality of the offer demands, the Queen hopes you will be very careful not to compromise her in any way, by holding out hopes which would only be disappointed.—C. GREY.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 21*st Jan.* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty and thinks it may be convenient to your Majesty to know that on Saturday, when he is to have the honour of being your Majesty's guest at Osborne, he hopes to be in a condition to state, as fully as your Majesty may think fit, the purport of the proposals which it is his desire to submit to the Cabinet on the subject of the Irish Church. . . .

He has prepared two papers,[1] one of them on the general policy and effect of the measure, the other a dry recital of the purport of what would be the leading

[1] These lengthy papers bewildered the Queen, who asked Mr. Theodore Martin, then staying at Osborne, to analyse and make a *précis* of them for her. "That the Queen," he writes in *Queen Victoria as I Knew Her*, p. 51, "should have been lost in the fog of the long and far from lucid sentences of her Minister, running, as they did, through upwards of a dozen closely written quarto pages, seemed only natural."

clauses of a Bill. Of course either or both of these papers will be entirely at your Majesty's command.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Draft.*]

OSBORNE, 31*st Jan.* 1869.—The Queen has now given her best attention to Mr. Gladstone's important papers, though she cannot say she yet feels competent to express an opinion on a proposal which she fears she still understands but imperfectly.

Mr. Gladstone knows that the Queen has always regretted that he should have thought himself compelled to raise this question as he has done; and still more that he should have committed himself to so sweeping a measure. Regret, however, is now useless, and the Queen can only hope that it may all end in the framing of a measure satisfactory to the country, and to which she can conscientiously assent.

The Queen is glad to see that Mr. Gladstone admits it to be "the duty of Government to aim at a minimum of disturbance, and a minimum of change"; and that, in the first instance at all events, as existing interests are to be respected, and Bishops and Clergymen will continue, for their lives, to fulfil their present duties, there will be little apparent change in the existing state of things.

But she observes that, after the passing of the Act, all further appointments to Benefices in Ireland are at once to cease, and she would ask: what will be the position in that case, on the death of the Incumbents of Parishes in which the population is, for the greater part, if not exclusively, Protestant? For till a new governing body shall be formed in which, instead of in the Crown, and the present patrons, the Queen supposes all future appointments to the Episcopal Church in Ireland will be vested, there will be no power, it seems, anywhere, to make any fresh appointment. And what prospect is there

of speedily effecting the mutual and voluntary agreement of Bishops, Clergy and Laity, on which the constitution of the new body is to depend?

The Queen concludes also, that this new body, when constituted, will have to regulate the number of Bishops to be retained, the mode of naming or electing them, etc., etc.; for she gathers from what Mr. Gladstone says of the "supremacy of the Crown not depending on its patronage," that he does not contemplate their nomination any longer by the Crown. She only hopes that we shall not be exposed at home to the unseemly spectacle of rival Bishops, at the head of fiercely contending parties, which is now exhibited at the Cape.

The Queen cannot but fear that to take from the Crown the nomination of Bishops in Ireland, and to deprive the Episcopal Church in that country of the control now exercised over it by the State, will only be the prelude to further troubles and divisions which may ultimately prove fatal to the continued existence of the Established Church even in England itself. Why could not the Episcopal Church have been left in Ireland, deprived of all exclusive privileges, and deprived also of whatever property cannot be shown to belong to it, without dispute in its character as a Protestant body, as part of the English Church? The Government still regulating the number of Bishops to be retained, and the Queen exercising the same patronage which she does in most of the Colonies?

The Queen will not enter into the question of the future distribution of the property, till Mr. Gladstone is able to state more decidedly what is proposed.

The Queen can only add that, if she can be of any assistance to Mr. Gladstone in bringing about a really satisfactory settlement of this question—always supposing that the measure, in its final shape, is such as she can conscientiously approve—he may entirely depend upon her affording it.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 1*st Feb.* 1869 (*Midnight*).—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and proceeds to answer to the best of his ability the enquiries contained in the letter which he has had the honour to receive this evening from your Majesty. He must, however, at the outset tender to your Majesty his grateful acknowledgments for the assurances conveyed in that letter.

1. Your Majesty will observe that a Bill, drawn according to the outline submitted, and passed into law, would take effect forthwith, so far as regards the suspension of appointments to Bishoprics, Dignities, and Benefices, and so far as regards the removal of disabilities affecting the existing Bishops and Clergy; but would not take effect until a future day, to be named in the Bill, so far as regards the main change to be effected in the condition and property of the Established Church.

The laws now in force, slightly aided by provisions in the suspensory clauses, would make full provision for the discharge of duty in the vacant Sees or Benefices.

Secondly, it is contemplated that, between the passing of the Act, and the day to be named in it, a new body would be formed by the voluntary action of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, capable of making the arrangements required for conducting the affairs of the Church.

Your Majesty is apparently apprehensive that this could not be effected in a short time. Mr. Gladstone does not think that Parliament would be niggardly in fixing the measure of this period. The time contemplated by the sketch in your Majesty's hands is a little short of eighteen months. This might if necessary be enlarged. But it would not be desirable for the sake of the Church, to prolong, beyond what necessity may require, a period which must be one of transition and of suspense.

Thirdly; your Majesty is pleased to ask what prospect there would be of speedy agreement amongst them? On this head Mr. Gladstone takes leave to observe that, in the Colonies generally, no difficulty has been found in agreeing upon the details of ecclesiastical arrangements: and that, though doctrinal divisions might lead to schism, happily there is perhaps less prospect of such divisions in the Irish Church, than in any portion of the Anglican Communion. Up to the present time, there has been no indication whatever of a tendency to separation, either internally, or in relation to the English Church.

Fourthly; without doubt the supremacy of the Crown does not require that Bishops should be nominated by the Crown. In some, however, of those Colonies, where the Church has been either partially or wholly disestablished, the nomination of Bishops remains, as Mr. Gladstone believes, with the Crown. Such an arrangement, if effected by the free-will of the Church, is not excluded by the sketch. All that it does is to remove all constraint, and to set the disestablished body free; but it does not prescribe the manner in which that body shall use its freedom.

Fifthly; your Majesty is pleased to enquire whether the Irish Church could not be left, with all the property which can be shown to belong to it as a Protestant body, to remain as part of the Church of England?

With respect to property, it is proposed by the sketch, that all property, which has not been given by the State, shall remain with the Church after disestablishment.

Of the property given by the State, the great bulk dates from before the Reformation.

To give to the disestablished Church the small portion of property conferred by the State since the Reformation, might give colour to a dangerous claim on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, to be reinstated in possession of the property presented to it by the State before the Reformation: and from

this claim it might be difficult, on principles of equal dealing, to escape.

With respect to the continuance of the Irish Church as part of the Church of England, Mr. Gladstone is not sure that he fully apprehends your Majesty's meaning. Judging, however, both from what has happened in Scotland, and otherwise, Mr. Gladstone believes, that the moral influence and attractive power of the Church of England over the Church of Ireland will continue to be great, indeed that it is likely to increase in the new state of things; but that any attempt to place the Church of Ireland in subordination to the Church of England would be resented and opposed by the Church of Ireland, which has always claimed nationality, and enjoyed historical independence.

Mr. Gladstone moreover is not without serious fears that any attempt to attach the Church of Ireland, however reduced, by the links of law to the Church of England more closely than it is now attached, would tend seriously to endanger the Church of England and to bring its existence into real controversy, in lieu of the speculative controversy which now alone exists concerning it.

With regard to the disposal of the property after meeting just claims, Mr. Gladstone, observing your Majesty's language, thinks he shall best fulfil his duty by consulting the Cabinet upon the several alternatives named in No. 30 of the paper No. II. Viewing the difficulties which attach to these alternative methods respectively, Mr. Gladstone is of opinion that the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering offers the least exceptionable mode of application, and he thinks the Cabinet may probably concur in this opinion.

Finally with respect in general to schemes which contemplate simply a reduction of the Establishment in Ireland, Mr. Gladstone would humbly call your Majesty's attention to the fact that they do not receive countenance from the members of the Estab-

lished Church in Ireland, nor give satisfaction to its opponents, and that there exists no body of opinion, nor means of forming any, which could apparently offer any likelihood of carrying a measure founded on that basis.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 11*th Feb.* 1869.—Saw the Bishop [of Peterborough], who said he would be deceiving me, if he told me the plan could be met with acceptance, and unless it were altered they would fight. They could not be worse off than if they accepted it now. He would put it all down [in a memorandum].[1] Disendowment and disestablishment must to a great extent be accepted; but there were several points which were unjust and quite inadmissible, and which would be violently opposed. The Suspensory Act was one of them. He spoke very clearly and plainly, but said Ireland did not want this; it would do no good (many who support Mr. Gladstone admit this !). What the Irish peasantry wanted was the settlement of the land, and not this measure. The landlords are poor and harsh; there is no sympathy between them [and the tenants]; and the two races are so different, the former Saxon and the latter Celt, that they have never agreed.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

OSBORNE, 18*th Feb.* 1869.—The Queen sends some more letters. These *two*, which are very interesting —the *one* written the day before the King's[2] death, the *other* only two hours and a half after his death became known to her. They ought to have been

[1] The Queen forwarded this to Mr. Gladstone, earnestly entreating for it his favourable consideration. Her Majesty also put him into direct communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tait. But neither the Bishop's nor the Archbishop's representations altered the Prime Minister's course. For the correspondence in each case see *Life of Gladstone*, bk. vi, ch. 1, and *Life of Archbishop Tait*, ch. 19.

[2] King William IV.

amongst the letters sent before but were misplaced. There is another on the death of old Mrs. Louis, the faithful dresser and friend of Princess Charlotte, who was the only person in her early youth who really watched over and was devoted to her. She always lived at Claremont, beloved and respected by every one high and low; and when the Queen came to the Throne she asked her to make her house *her* home; but alas! she only survived nine months. A nobler, more disinterested, or more high-minded person never breathed. She was a native of Erbach, and her brother was a *Förster* to Prince Leiningen.

The Queen's letters between *'37 and '40* are *not* pleasing, and indeed rather painful to herself. It was the least sensible and satisfactory time in her whole life, and she must therefore destroy a great many. That life of mere amusement, flattery, excitement and mere politics had a bad effect (as it must have on every one) on her *naturally* simple and serious nature. But *all* changed after *'40*. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Cardwell.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1*st Mar.* 1869.—The Queen has intended for some time to write to Mr. Cardwell on some things connected with the Army, which give her considerable uneasiness.

She cannot help having some misgivings as to the extent to which it is proposed to withdraw troops from the Colonies, and to carry reductions in the staff at home. She trusts that the former subject has been well considered in the Cabinet, for the Queen could never forgive herself, if she found that she had inadvertently given her assent to anything that could risk the safety of her Colonial possessions. And with regard to the latter, she hopes that nothing will be proposed to her that has not been previously discussed and concurred in by the Commander-in-Chief and the military authorities.

The Queen is the more anxious on this point, because she cannot shut her eyes to the fact that a

disposition exists in some quarters to run down the C.-in-C. and generally to disparage the military authorities as obstacles to all improvements in our Army administration.

So far from this being the case, the Duke of Cambridge has always acted most cordially, as the Queen is sure Mr. Cardwell will have already found, with successive Secretaries of State, in promoting and giving effect to all well-considered measures of improvement; and ever since he has been at the head of the Army he has deserved the Queen's entire confidence, and is entitled to her best support.

Anything that could tend to lower his position in the eyes of the public, would, the Queen feels, be a misfortune as regards the public service; and she is confident that Mr. Cardwell will give his sanction to no measure likely to have that effect. The Queen is led to say this now, feeling very strongly on the subject, before Mr. Cardwell makes his statement in the House, lest in admitting the advantage of having the military and civil departments of the Army under the same roof, he should inadvertently commit himself to what the Queen would feel herself bound to resist, as likely to produce the effect she so much deprecates—she means the removal of the military departments of the Army from the Horse Guards to Pall Mall. Such a step could not fail to damage the position of the C.-in-C. though it might be desirable to build a new office for the Secretary of State on the site of Dover House, and in connection with the Horse Guards.

On this and all other subjects connected with the Army the Queen is confident that Mr. Cardwell will commit himself to no change in the existing system, without giving her previously a full opportunity of considering his proposals.

Mr. Cardwell to Queen Victoria.

War Office, *3rd Mar.* 1869.—Mr. Cardwell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and is able

to assure your Majesty that the reductions which it is proposed to make in the number of troops in the Colonies have been fully considered by the Cabinet, and that the reductions proposed to be made in the staff at home have been fully discussed with, and concurred in, by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. Mr. Cardwell has experienced, during the short period of his tenure, all the advantages of the disposition which your Majesty ascribes to his Royal Highness, of acting in all respects most cordially with your Majesty's Government, and particularly with the Secretary of State for War, and will lend no countenance to any attempt which shall be made to disparage his authority.

It has not been within the power of your Majesty's Government to consider, as yet, any scheme for the further amalgamation of the Public Offices in the neighbourhood of the Houses of Parliament, and no plan has even, so far as Mr. Cardwell knows, ever been proposed for removing the military departments now at the Horse Guards to Pall Mall; indeed the buildings there are not sufficient to accommodate, with any degree of convenience, the present establishment of the War Office.

Mr. Cardwell will not fail scrupulously to observe the injunction which he has received from your Majesty, and on this and all other subjects connected with the Army will not commit himself to any changes in the existing system, without previously laying any such proposals before your Majesty. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *4th Mar.* 1869.—Drove to the Deanery at Westminster, where the Dean and Augusta had invited the following celebrities to meet me: Mr. Carlyle, the historian, a strange-looking eccentric old Scotchman, who holds forth, in a drawling melancholy voice, with a broad Scotch accent, upon Scotland and upon the utter degeneration of everything; Mr. and Mrs. Grote, old acquaintances of

mine from Kensington, unaltered, she very peculiar, clever and masculine, he also an historian, of the old school; Sir C. and Lady Lyell, he an old acquaintance, most agreeable, and she very pleasing; Mr. Browning, the poet, a very agreeable man. It was, at first, very shy work speaking to them, when they were all drawn up; but afterwards, when tea was being drunk, Augusta got them to come and sit near me, and they were very agreeable and talked very entertainingly.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 23*rd Mar.* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the debate of this evening,[1] though long, was not marked by many remarkable speeches. Sir Henry Bulwer spoke for the Irish Church Bill, with much talent and force, but not without physical difficulty. Young Lord George Hamilton made a first speech of great talent, admirably delivered. Mr. Hardy's speech was an uncompromising defence of laws and institutions as they are, with a severe picture of the character and civil conduct of the Irish population. The Second Reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 118, the numbers being 368 to 250. This majority somewhat surpassed the expectations of the Government, and may be considered highly favourable to the passing of the Bill through the House of Lords.

At the close of the Sitting, Mr. Gladstone moved the adjournment of the House to Thursday 1st April.

The Committee of the Bill was fixed for 15th April. Mr. Disraeli rose and asked Mr. Gladstone whether he intended to proceed with the Bill in Committee from day to day. Mr. Gladstone interprets this question as possibly indicating on the part of Mr. Disraeli a desire that the controversy should not be unduly prolonged.

[1] On the second reading of the Irish Church Bill.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

26*th Mar.* 1869.— . . . Mr. Reverdy Johnson has proposed a new Amendment of the Convention [1] in order to admit the claims of the two *Governments* upon each other, and, as usual, says it would secure the ratification of the Senate. Lord Clarendon greatly doubts whether Mr. Johnson has had any official instructions to this effect, or indeed whether he knows the name even of the American Secretary of State, as the gentleman appointed by General Grant told Mr. Thornton that, owing to his bad health, he should only retain the office for a few days, and should not enter upon any important business.[2]

Under these circumstances Lord Clarendon inclines to think that the proposal should not be agreed to, but he must consult his colleagues before he makes a definitive report to your Majesty.

Mr. Childers to Queen Victoria.

ADMIRALTY, 6*th April* 1869.—Mr. Childers . . . would respectfully submit that he has instructed the Admirals in command at the Home Ports, and in the Mediterranean, to report, confidentially, what is the general feeling prevalent among the officers and men of your Majesty's Navy with reference to permission being granted to them to wear beards and moustaches, and that,[3] when these reports are received, he will have the honour of submitting the substance of them to your Majesty. . . .

[1] Between Great Britain and the United States in reference to the *Alabama* dispute and similar matters. See Introductory Notes to this and to the previous chapter.

[2] Mr. Elihu Washburne was General Grant's first nomination for Secretary of State, but he only held office for a short time and was succeeded by Mr. Hamilton Fish.

[3] A movement in the Navy which was brought to the Queen's notice by Prince Ernest Leiningen, who was a naval officer, which was favourably regarded by her Majesty. As will be seen below, p. 612, beards and moustaches were authorised. See *Life of Childers*, vol. i, pp. 175-7.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

13*th April* 1869.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to enclose a letter from Sir C[harles] Murray.[1]

The object of Marshal Saldanha's [2] visit to-day was to enquire whether Portugal might depend on England defending her in the event of her being attacked, as he thought a public announcement to that effect would check any hostile designs upon Portugal that Spain might entertain.

Lord Clarendon declined to entertain the question as to how England would fulfil any obligations that might be imposed on her by Treaty.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Clarendon.

15*th April* 1869.—The Queen . . . hopes Lord Clarendon's answer to Marshal Saldanha was not quite so peremptory as his letter would lead her to suppose; for she would deeply regret to think that either Portugal or Belgium should be led to imagine that they must not look to England for support in case of need. If it were to be generally understood that we could not any longer be relied upon, except for moral support, England would soon lose her position in Europe.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

Foreign Office, 16*th April* 1869.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to acknowledge the receipt of your Majesty's gracious telegram of this morning, which has removed a weight from his mind, as your Majesty's letter of yesterday had been the cause of deep regret to Lord Clarendon, who feared that, in the opinion of your Majesty, the peace of Europe and the honour of England were endangered by the language or the acts for which Lord Clarendon, more than any of his

[1] British Minister at Lisbon. [2] Portuguese Minister in London.

colleagues, is responsible, although they have always received the sanction of the Cabinet.

Lord Clarendon, however, is rejoiced to infer from your Majesty's telegram that nothing detrimental to the position of England fell from him in the course of his conversation with Marshal Saldanha, and he ventures to think that nothing injurious to the honour and good faith of England can be said with reference to the Belgian question.

The object of the Belgian and Portuguese Governments is to hold out as a menace to their real or supposed enemies that the whole material force of England is at their disposal; the object of Lord Clarendon is to preserve an entire freedom of action for your Majesty's Government to be used as circumstances may arise and the duties of Treaty obligations may impose.

It is easy for Lord A. Loftus to repeat the language that Lord Clarendon has over and over again heard from General Moltke and other Prussians whose object is to embroil us with France, and whose policy would then be to leave England in the lurch; but it is the duty, as Lord Clarendon humbly conceives, of your Majesty's Government to consider the interests of England, and not to disguise from themselves the many difficulties of our position and the exceeding delicacy of calling upon Parliament to give effect to Treaties which, if public opinion years ago had been what it now is, would not have been sanctioned. It seems to be the duty of your Majesty's Government to bear in mind how widely different are the circumstances of this country now to when those Treaties were concluded, and that, if their execution were to lead us into war in Europe, we should find ourselves immediately called upon to defend Canada from American invasion and our commerce from American privateers.

Accordingly it would seem more honourable and dignified on the part of England not to menace if she is not sure of being able to strike, and not to

promise more than she may be able to perform; though at the same time neither saying nor doing anything to warrant the supposition that, on a real necessity arising, England would shrink from any obligation that she might be rightfully called upon to perform.

Lord Clarendon feels convinced that your Majesty's enlightened judgment upon all foreign questions will lead to the admission that in every quarrel there are at least two principals, and that we are bound to consider not only the deterring effect which menace would have on one of them, but also the stimulating effect it would be at least as likely to produce on the other, and the disregard of the laws of prudence which might follow. Lord Clarendon does not hesitate to submit to your Majesty that by a course of proceeding totally distinct from that of menace, however qualified, your Majesty's Government largely contributed in bringing the Turco-Greek question to a happy instead of a disastrous conclusion, and in materially modifying the original intentions of the Emperor towards Belgium. Each of these questions, however, menaced the peace of Europe, and Lord Clarendon ventures to remind your Majesty that he has received the thanks of Ct. Bismarck and Ct. Beust for his friendly intervention, by which a stop was put to the press warfare which was daily rendering Austria and Prussia more hostile to each other. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Clarendon.

17*th April* 1869.—The Queen thanks Lord Clarendon for his very clear explanation of his views on Foreign Policy, in the general principles of which she must agree. She quite admits the propriety of reserving to ourselves entire freedom of action, and the inexpediency of encouraging any Power, which may think itself entitled to support from England, to such a "disregard of the laws of prudence" as might wantonly provoke the consequences we desire to avoid.

At the same time the Queen cannot but be alive to the fact, that there is a disposition on the Continent to believe that England is not to be moved, either by interest, or the obligation of Treaties, into giving more than *moral* support in any complications that may arise, and that the aggressive Power may dismiss all fears of finding "England across its path."

The Crimean War shows how dangerous such a belief is to the preservation of Peace; and all that the Queen has ever wished to press upon Lord Clarendon, as she did upon Lord Stanley, is that, with the same firm but friendly language with which he gave the French Government to understand that England was not likely to stand by and see Belgium unjustly attacked, and thus turned aside (if indeed it is turned aside) a great danger, he will let it be known, beyond the possibility of mistake, that, while she indulges in no threats, England will be prepared to maintain the obligation of Treaties, wherever her honour or her interest may call upon her to do so.

Lord Clarendon's language to Marshal Saldanha, as reported in his despatch, is all that could be desired. The Queen had certainly feared, from his previous letter, that his refusal of any promise of support, in certain contingencies, had been more decided and peremptory than she could have approved.

General Grey to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17*th April* 1869.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,—The Queen desires me to send the enclosed letters from Lord Clarendon, with a copy of her reply to the first, which led to the second.

I should add that the impression her Majesty had derived from the short notice in Lord C.'s first letter of what had passed between him and Marshal Saldanha, had already been removed by the draft despatch subsequently received, giving Sir C. Murray an account of the language he had used; of which her Majesty immediately telegraphed her entire approval.

To show you how strongly the Queen feels upon the subject of this correspondence, I copy so much of a letter I received from her last night as relates to it.

"The Queen sends a long letter from Lord C., who is evidently annoyed. But the course he pursues is so *very* curiously guarded, as to be hardly *straightforward*. The Queen ended her letter by saying 'if it were to be generally understood that we could not any longer be relied upon except for *moral* support, England would soon lose her position in Europe'—which evidently has annoyed Lord C. But the Queen *cannot* help stating what she feels *very* strongly. Might it not be well if General Grey were to send Mr. Gladstone, in *strict confidence*, a copy of the Queen's letter and Lord C.'s own two letters—telling him the Queen hopes he will keep up the tone?"

I can add nothing to this strong expression of the Queen's opinion. Believe me, . . . C. GREY.[1]

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 29*th April* 1869.— . . . Your Majesty will probably have read this day the atrocious language said to have been used by Mr. O'Sullivan, the Mayor of Cork, respecting the assassin O'Farrell.[2] The Cabinet will meet to-morrow and

[1] Mr. Gladstone's reply is printed in full in *Life of Gladstone*, bk. vi, ch. 4.

[2] At a public dinner given on 27th April, at Cork, in honour of two discharged Fenian convicts, the Mayor of Cork (Mr. O'Sullivan), in proposing their health, said, in reference to the attempt of the Fenian O'Farrell (who was convicted and hanged) to assassinate the young Duke of Edinburgh near Sydney in 1868: "When that noble Irishman O'Farrell fired at the Prince in Australia, he was imbued with as noble and patriotic feelings as Larkin, Allen, and O'Brien [the Manchester murderers] were. He believed that O'Farrell would be as highly thought of as any of the men who had sacrificed their lives for Ireland. They all saw how a noble Pole had fired at the Emperor of Russia, because he thought that the Emperor was trampling upon the liberties of the people. Well, O'Farrell probably was actuated by the same noble impulses when he fired at the Prince. O'Farrell was as noble an Irishman as the Pole and as true to his country."

will consider whether there are any measures in relation to this matter which they can advantageously adopt. Mr. Gladstone has to-night been informed by telegram from Ireland, that the Mayor will to-morrow be asked in public meeting whether he did or did not use the words imputed to him.

30th April.—Mr. Gladstone . . . received this day, through General Grey, your Majesty's message respecting the Mayor of Cork, to which his letter of last night was an answer by anticipation.

Your Majesty may be aware that the Executive Government, as such, has no power whatever over a Mayor.

The Cabinet fully considered the case to-day. The two methods of proceeding open to them appeared to be (1) to indict him for the words spoken, (2) to bring a Bill into Parliament to deprive and disable him. The question was thought to be a nice one: but they determined on the former of the two alternatives. This is, of course, supposing that the facts are substantiated with regard to the utterance of the words. . . .

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

1st May 1869.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty. . . .

The speech of Mr. Sumner, which breathes the Irish extravagant hostility to England, occupies public attention; but as it is enormously long, Lord Clarendon has had a short *précis* made of it, which he thinks your Majesty may wish to see. He humbly begs that it may be returned.

It is the unfriendly state of our relations with America that to a great extent paralyses our action in Europe. There is not the smallest doubt that if we were engaged in a Continental quarrel we should immediately find ourselves at war with the United States.

Mr. Reverdy Johnson is indignant with Mr.

Sumner, who he says is *going in* for the next Presidency on the *anti-English platform.*

He is preparing a pamphlet to be published immediately on his return to Washington in defence of himself and of the proceedings of your Majesty's Government. He made a speech this evening at the Royal Academy dinner in which he justly, though not very prudently, ridiculed Mr. Sumner's demands. It will probably do some harm to us as well as to himself. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 1*st May* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly thanks your Majesty for the telegram by which it was followed.

The case of the Mayor of Cork has been viewed by the Government from the first as one of great gravity; which your Majesty would not fail to perceive from the circumstance, that Mr. Gladstone troubled your Majesty with a reference to it immediately after he had become acquainted with the telegraphic account. Though the individual may be insignificant, he represents public authority, for local purposes, in the second city of Ireland: and, whatever licence may be permitted to private persons, it is intolerable that law should be insulted, and social morality outraged, from the Chair of Justice. Your Majesty may rest assured that this affair will be prosecuted with care and diligence.

Your Majesty's advisers have been censured in the House of Lords because they did not with a foolish precipitancy introduce a Land Bill for Ireland, while they were engaged with the Church Bill. But in the House of Commons Lord Stanley last night with candour acknowledged that they had judged and acted rightly in this particular.

Your Majesty's advisers deeply lament the recurrence of agrarian outrages in Ireland; but they can feel no surprise at it. The movements of disease

cannot be predicted with precision, either in individuals or nations: and this class of crime in Ireland partakes, much more largely than is common, of the nature of disease. Individual depravity has less to do with it, evil tradition more. The Government do not regard this as a reason for relaxing measures, either preventive or punitive, for the safety of society: but it prevents them from looking upon the evil as one to be cured by a summary remedy. The full fruits of the work they have undertaken, supposing their judgment to be right, can only be reaped in the future. They could not rationally have entered on that work, with any other view; and the patience of years, if not of generations, may be required in order to repair consequences which have come from the perverseness of centuries.

But in proportion as measures of justice have heretofore been extended to Ireland, affection has been conciliated in those classes which felt the relief; and when those measures of justice come to embrace the whole people more completely than at present, there is no reason to suppose them to be so incapable of natural and human sentiments as that they should continue to be a source of danger, instead of a stay, to your Majesty's Throne and Government.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, *4th May* 1869.— . . . The dear little children are very well, and I shall be very sorry to lose them.[1] They have been very well with me and are very fond of Grandmama. You must let me see them often, and sometimes let one or other of them come and stay with me for a little while, as I should not like them to become strangers to me. The great thing which I have observed from watching them is to keep to as much regularity of hours as pos-

[1] The Prince and Princess of Wales had been for a tour in the winter and early spring to Egypt and Constantinople, and their children had paid a visit to their grandmother, the Queen.

sible; letting them get out early and go to bed in good time, mornings and evenings. Then not to have them too long at a time downstairs when you cannot watch them, and above all not all together. One at the time is much the best, and Eddy is very good and very sensible when you have him with you alone. *No one* can give you better advice about the children (the boys, I mean) than Mr. Duckworth and Col. Elphinstone. The former has seen a great deal of your two little dears and liked Eddy particularly. . . .

You will, I fear, have incurred immense expenses, and I don't think you will find any disposition (except perhaps as regards those which were *forced* upon you at Constantinople) to give you any more money. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, *4th May* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that at the Cabinet of to-day it was found that many months were likely to elapse before legal proceedings against the Mayor of Cork could be brought to issue, and that the administration of justice in that City is in the meantime attended, and likely to be attended, with great scandals.

Under these circumstances the Cabinet have concluded that the most dignified and most effectual course will be to introduce at once a Bill to deprive the Mayor of his Mayoralty and Magistracy, and to disable him for holding hereafter any office of Magistracy in Ireland. Mr. Gladstone ventures to anticipate your Majesty's approval of this intention.

The Bill will follow in the main the frame of an Act passed in the reign of George II, to deprive and disable Alexander Wilson, Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, *7th May* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty,

and reports that the Master of the Temple some time ago intimated to Mr. Gladstone his intention to resign the Mastership at the end of the coming term.

Mr. Gladstone is not entitled formally to take your Majesty's pleasure with a view to a new appointment, until the office shall be vacant. But the interest and influence attaching to this appointment at once brought many candidates into the field, and the names of others were freely suggested, so that it was not possible for Mr. Gladstone to avoid the consideration of the subject, although it is liable to the chances of the future.

The Dean of Westminster acquainted Mr. Gladstone that he thought it not improbable that Dr. Vaughan of Doncaster, whose name is well known to your Majesty, would be desirous of the appointment, and Mr. Gladstone has since learned from him that he would readily accept it. This being so, Mr. Gladstone has informed Dr. Vaughan that, if next month it shall fall to his lot to recommend a successor to the present Master, he will very gladly submit the name of Dr. Vaughan, as he believes the appointment would be excellent. He has requested Dr. Vaughan to regard his communication as confidential, but he felt it right to make known to your Majesty the step he has taken, as matter of information.[1]

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

11*th May* 1869.—At 12 saw Mr. Gladstone, who talked of the Irish Church Bill having passed through Committee, which he said the Opposition evidently wished should pass, feeling that on the Land Question the Government would have much greater difficulties. I said that I thought that the Bill would be altered in the House of Lords, which he equally believed; but he regretted that there was *no one* they could communicate with, as was the case in the Duke of Wellington's time. He, however,

[1] Dr. Vaughan was appointed Master of the Temple.

hoped it might perhaps be done by some of the Bishops, or by the Archbishop. I thought this significant.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 Downing Street, 11*th May* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the satisfaction of informing your Majesty that the affair of the Mayor of Cork is virtually and very happily at an end.

At the opening of the proceedings in the House of Commons, Mr. Maguire, M.P. for Cork, read a letter of resignation from the Mayor, and The O'Donoghue added that the resignation would be formally sent to Cork this evening.

Upon this, Mr. Gladstone stated that your Majesty's Government did not seek to bring Parliament into conflict with a private person, and that Mr. O'Sullivan had now virtually resumed that position. That, however, a new Mayor must be elected; and that Mr. O'Sullivan's letter contained, and could be expected to contain, no declaration on that subject. This ulterior question, however, must be shortly decided. The Government would accordingly postpone the Bill for four weeks; with the hope that it might then be wholly dropped. This course appeared to be approved, and was followed.

The two Irish Members named by Mr. Gladstone deserve special credit in this important business: but Mr. Gladstone humbly points out that, on this occasion, perhaps for the first time, public sentiment in Ireland has refused the invitation to array itself against the authority of the Crown and of the law, which cannot fail to derive an accession of moral weight and force from such an incident.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 29*th May* 1869.— . . . Lord Clarendon mentioned to the Cabinet that he

had transmitted to General Grey a letter from the Consul-General at Venice respecting the visit of the Viceroy of Egypt to this country, and had requested General Grey to take your Majesty's pleasure: but there had been no time for him to hear the result. He also pointed out that an article in *The Times* had contained what was equivalent to an announcement that the Viceroy was to be received at Buckingham Palace. He had learned that the suite was small, not exceeding seven or eight persons, and that the stay of the Viceroy in this country was to be of about seven days.

It appeared to the Cabinet that this announcement in an important Journal, of the source of which they were wholly ignorant, was somewhat embarrassing, and would have tended to create expectations in the public mind of a nature anticipating your Majesty's decision. At the same time Mr. Gladstone has humbly to report that they did not doubt that the reception of the Viceroy under your Majesty's roof at Buckingham Palace would give much satisfaction; nor did it appear to them in what manner any other arrangement equally acceptable could be made.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 31*st May* 1869.—The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for three letters.

With respect to the Viceroy's visit, of which the Queen knew nothing, Lord Clarendon will have shown Mr. Gladstone the letter General Grey wrote by the Queen's command.

The Queen can only repeat what is stated therein, and what is the truth. At the same time, if the Viceroy's visit is of short duration, and if his suite is small, the Queen will, *on this occasion*, in return for the *marked civilities* of the Viceroy to the Prince and Princess of Wales, offer to lodge him, and would naturally receive him for a day and a night at Wind-

sor, as well as invite him to the Breakfast at Buckingham Palace on the 25th. But the Queen must strongly *protest* against the pretension raised, that she should—at her *own expense*, in the *only* Palace of her own which she may come to at any time, and which is constantly used for her own family—entertain all the foreign Potentates who choose to come here for their own amusement.

Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston both strongly felt that, as a lady, *without a husband*, with all the weight of Government thrown upon her, with weakened health, *quite incapable* of bearing the *fatigues* of representation, she could not be expected to entertain Princes as formerly. Consequently she *cannot invite* them. It makes her quite ill to be *unable* to do the *right* thing; and yet she *cannot* do so. But this question is *always* now arising, which it never did formerly, and we never, except perhaps in one instance, lodged people whom we did not invite. And if the country *does* wish (which it certainly did not formerly, as it seemed not much to wish for Royal visitors to come here then) these Royal personages to be received and entertained, *let* the Government buy a house, which may be called a Palace, and give the Sovereign the *means* of entertaining, or *at least* maintain them in it. Every other Sovereign *has* Palaces in numbers, with servants; in which they can lodge any Royal personages. But this *never* has been the case in this country, and if this is to *be*, the *means* must be found, and furniture for it, and the matter set at rest for the future.

It would take the Queen too long to point out to Mr. Gladstone *how impossible* it would be for her to keep up two establishments, for her *own* does not suffice for it; and how totally unprecedented, in her reign, the lodging of visitors not invited is. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 1*st June* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty,

and humbly thanks your Majesty for the gracious intention announced by your Majesty, under the special circumstances of the case, with respect to the Viceroy of Egypt.

It would have been Mr. Gladstone's desire, not less than his duty, to submit this question to your Majesty in the first instance on his own responsibility, without any disturbing circumstance, such as had actually occurred when Mr. Gladstone wrote his letter of the 29th ult.

He regrets very much to have troubled your Majesty with an appearance of abruptness, and at a moment when, not to his knowledge at the time, your Majesty might be suffering uneasiness by reason of the Princess Christian's unexpected inability to accomplish her intended journey to Balmoral.

But the announcement from Venice had already obliged Lord Clarendon to refer to your Majesty; and the declaration in *The Times* newspaper, viewed by the Cabinet with the same feelings as by your Majesty, and due to some cause which they could not conceive, created a situation, in which it was incumbent upon them humbly to lay before your Majesty their view of the best means of avoiding the invidious comments which, after that declaration, were to be anticipated; particularly as the Viceroy might probably be found to have expressed himself to others in terms similar to those which he employed in communication with the Consul. Mr. Gladstone is sure his colleagues will appreciate your Majesty's decision, and also sure your Majesty perceives that, together with them, he acted faithfully in suggesting to your Majesty the best means, according to their judgment anxiously formed on the spot, of avoiding inconveniences which might have caused your Majesty serious pain.

Your Majesty may rely upon it, that no intrusion upon your Majesty's tranquillity will now or at any time be meditated, nor any addition to your Majesty's unceasing cares proposed, by Mr. Gladstone or the

Cabinet, except for the avoidance of palpably greater evil, and in circumstances in which they shall feel assured that your Majesty's own upright and enlightened judgment would, in their position, and with their means of information, have recommended a similar course.

With regard to the general question of the visits, and especially the uninvited visits, of foreign Sovereigns, Mr. Gladstone does not doubt that from the increased facilities of communication, and the social and even political approximation of nations, it has assumed an increased importance. Mr. Gladstone will endeavour to obtain for himself and his colleagues all the needful information bearing upon it, and they may then be in a condition to consider whether any new provisions should be adopted in regard to it.

Mr. Gladstone concludes by expressing the regret which it causes him to trouble your Majesty with so long an explanation.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

Balmoral, *7th June* 1869.—The Queen writes to Lord Derby to-day upon a subject which causes her the deepest anxiety, and, she must add, considerable surprise.

She *hears* that it is proposed to throw out the Irish Church Bill by opposing the second reading.

The Queen has never concealed her opinion as to this measure—which remains unaltered; but, after the Dissolution last autumn, and the large majorities with which the Bill has been passed in the House of Commons, for the House of Lords to throw it out, and thus place itself in collision with the House of Commons, would be most dangerous, if not *disastrous*.

The Queen knows too well how loyal, and how devoted to her person and Throne, Lord Derby is; and she cannot therefore doubt, that he will pause before he concurs in pursuing a course fraught with such danger to the country and constitution.

If the House of Lords does not oppose the second

reading, it will be in its power to make important and useful amendments, which it is hoped the House of Commons may be disposed to adopt.

This would raise the House of Lords in the country; but to put itself into collision with the other House would—above all at this moment when alas! the aristocracy is lowered by the conduct of so many who bear the oldest, proudest names—she must repeat it, lead to *most disastrous results.*

Most earnestly does the Queen appeal to Lord Derby to try and prevent this dangerous course from being pursued.

She would ask him to show this letter in confidence to Lord Cairns.[1]

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, *8th June* 1869.— . . . Mr. Gladstone learns from General Grey that your Majesty has in your goodness addressed a letter to the Earl of Derby, on the subject of the Second Reading of the Irish Church Bill. It is probable that Lord Derby may have gone too far in committing himself so far as his own personal vote is concerned. But the main question is the influence which the leaders of the party may exercise on other Peers: and it is quite possible that in regard to this influence your Majesty's representation may have beneficial and important consequences. Mr. Gladstone would humbly repeat that the rejection of the Bill, though probable, is by no means, as yet, to be considered certain.

Meantime, as was to be expected, the majority of the House of Commons begin to show signs of susceptibility. Suggestions have been made to Mr. Gladstone with reference to public meetings, and to a meeting of the party at Willis's Rooms, for the purpose of declaring confidence in the Government. These suggestions have been discouraged by Mr. Gladstone, and it will, he is sure, be the desire and

[1] During this session leader of the Opposition in the Lords.

endeavour of the Cabinet to prevent agitation in the country as long as it may be possible, notwithstanding the pertinacious efforts on the other side. But the essential condition of their power to be useful in this respect is that the confidence of their supporters should continue unimpaired.

Without doubt the Archbishop of Canterbury will inform your Majesty what he considers to be the upshot of his correspondence with Mr. Gladstone, growing out of your Majesty's letter to his Grace.

Mr. Gladstone's reply to the Archbishop was in substance this: that in his opinion the House of Commons would adhere to disendowment as a rule, though as a rule with exceptions for marked and special cause; and that the Bill might still admit of changes which would be material as improvements, though not material as deviations from its principle. Mr. Gladstone also signified that in his opinion the main interest involved in the acceptance of the Bill on the Second Reading, is the interest of the House of Lords itself, with the interest of the country in the dignity, efficiency, and permanence of that Assembly.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

Balmoral, 9*th June* 1869.— . . . Lord de Grey is writing to him upon a subject of the gravest importance, and she cannot sufficiently express her anxious hope, that Lord Granville will do *all* he *can* to enable the moderate Conservatives to *prevail.*

All this anxiety and all this *danger* to the country, the Queen *must* repeat to Lord Granville, *she* thinks has been unnecessarily brought on by the *move* of last year on the Irish Church.

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

9*th June* 1869.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs to transmit letters from Lord Lyons, Lord A. Loftus, Mr. Rumbold, and Mr. Odo Russell.

Things are certainly not in a comfortable state at Paris, but it is not to be wondered at that the French people should be exasperated against personal Government. The Emperor may have to choose between responsible Government or war for the purpose of turning attention from domestic affairs, and he may possibly think that the latter will be the lesser danger to his dynasty, the establishment of which is now his chief care.[1]

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, 9*th June* 1869.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty the expression of his deep regret at finding by the letter with which he was honoured yesterday evening, that the course which he has felt himself bound to take with regard to the Irish Church Bill, has caused your Majesty the deepest anxiety, and even surprise. It is, however, a great satisfaction to Lord Derby to be assured that your Majesty does not doubt his loyalty and devotion to your Majesty's person and Throne. He ventures to assure your Majesty that there is no sacrifice that he would not be prepared to make for your Majesty's ease and comfort, except that of his own personal honour and character, which would be involved in his abstaining from opposing such a measure as has been brought forward by your Majesty's Ministers. At the same time Lord Derby must beg your Majesty to believe that the prominent part which has been assigned to him on this occasion is not one of his own seeking. From the moment at which broken health compelled him to retire from your Majesty's service, it has been his anxious wish to place himself as much as possible in the background, and to leave to those on whom official responsibility *may* devolve, the duty of conducting the course of the Conservative party. But in the present crisis the views which he is known to have entertained for nearly half a century have naturally made him the

[1] See Introductory Note.

medium of communication with those throughout the country who share his principles; and he ventures to think that your Majesty can form no adequate conception of the amount of discontent which will universally be produced by the passing of the present measure.

Lord Derby does not affect to conceal from himself the serious peril of a collision with the House of Commons, especially under the guidance of the present head of your Majesty's administration; but on the other hand he sees in the passing of this measure consequences so infinitely more serious, that he will not venture to contemplate them, still less to hint at them to your Majesty. It would not be consistent with the deference which Lord Derby owes to your Majesty, to enter into anything which might have the appearance of an argument; but he may be permitted to observe that, though it is undoubtedly true that at the late Election the Liberal party, from a combination of circumstances, obtained a large majority, and that the Irish Church question was prominent among the subjects placed before the Constituencies, yet that the country has had no opportunity of judging of the merits of the proposition by which the principle is carried out; and there is every reason to believe that already there is a considerable reaction in the public, and even in the popular mind. Lord Derby therefore is humbly of opinion that in a matter of such deep moment, and when a step once taken cannot be retraced, some farther time should be allowed for the deliberate judgment of the country, and that the House of Lords should not be called upon to give a vote on so vital a question in opposition to their known opinions, with more haste than ever attended any measure, within his recollection, of importance at all comparable.

Having, however, submitted to your Majesty, with that frankness which your Majesty has always graciously allowed him to use, his own individual opinion, he may add, from a conversation which he

has had with Lord Cairns (to whom he has communicated your Majesty's letter, in obedience to your Majesty's command), that there is a great probability that a majority of the House of Lords may support the Second Reading of the Bill, in hopes that some substantial amendments may be introduced in Committee; and that this probability would be greatly increased if any assurances were given by your Majesty's Ministers that such amendments would be favourably, or even fairly considered. But the House of Lords have at present no reason to anticipate such a conclusion. Every amendment proposed in the Commons tending to mitigate the severity of the enactment has been summarily, and even contemptuously rejected by Mr. Gladstone, and the majority which blindly follows him; and the organs of the Government in the Press have not hesitated to say that any amendment of importance would be tantamount to a rejection of the Bill, and to menace the House of Lords with the most serious consequences, to which they venture to assume your Majesty's consent. Lord Derby is bound to say that no amendments would remove his individual objections to the whole principle of the Bill; but he ventures to add that if there be one way more certain than another to ensure its rejection, it is the language of menace and coercion which is sought to be applied to the House of Lords; and to which if they were to submit, their influence in the State would be for ever and deservedly lost.

Lord Derby humbly entreats your Majesty to forgive this long and full exposition of his views, and to accept the sincere regret of Lord Cairns and himself, that, however anxious they are in every possible way to meet your Majesty's wishes, it would be destruction to their own character and honour, now to recede from the position which they have so publicly, and so recently, announced themselves to have taken up, on deliberate consideration of all the conflicting difficulties.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

House of Lords, 14*th June* 1869.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. After he [had] moved the second reading[1] and spoken, Lord Harrowby followed, making one or two clever points, but mixed with much that was poor. Lord [Clarendon] followed and spoke shortly and to the purpose. The Duke of Rutland at great length, Lord Stratford [de Redcliffe] followed in a speech much better than usual, denouncing the Bill, but recommending the second reading. Then Lord Romilly very well, then the Archbishop spoke with great effect. Very severe on the Bill but recommending the second reading, acknowledging that Lord Granville's assurances had been satisfactory to him. Lord Carnarvon spoke strongly for the second reading, giving praise and blame to the Bill. He did not command the attention of the House much. The Bishop of Derry[2] spoke with great fervour and humour. His speech was [a] decidedly effective one, but with Irish peculiarities. He was much cheered.

Lord Grey and Lord Lytton both moved to adjourn the House; they both support the second reading of the Bill. Lord Granville hopes the Bill will pass a second reading.

15*th June*.— . . . Lord Grey began the debate, and, although in parts he was severe upon the Government, his speech was favourable to the second reading of the Bill, and it was the best and most condensed he has made for some years.

The Archbishop of Dublin[3] then spoke, or read, not a speech, but a funeral oration. He was followed by the Bishop of St. David's,[4] who in general although able is long, so much so that one day, at the end of a diffusive speech, the Bishop of Oxford said to Lord Granville that it made [it] easy to understand

[1] Of the Irish Church Bill in the House of Lords.
[2] Dr. William Alexander, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh.
[3] Dr. Trench.
[4] Dr. Thirlwall, the historian.

how the Bishop's history of Greece was in *ten* volumes. This evening he delivered almost the best speech Lord Granville ever heard, but unluckily the House was empty.

Lord Chelmsford and Lord Penzance followed, and then came the Bishop of Peterborough in a brilliant and most amusing speech, which was cheered to the echo by the Conservative Party, which will produce some effect on the division but probably not on public opinion.

Lord de Grey spoke well and discreetly to a diminishing House, and was followed by Lord Clancarty and Lord Monck who addressed the empty benches; but, as Lord Aberdeen once said to the Duke of Argyll, "You will have me to listen to you —will not that do?"

17*th June*.— . . . The debate began this evening, as your Majesty will see, by a question about the most improper letter written by Mr. Bright.[1] It was very difficult to know how to meet it, but Lord Cairns made the mistake of prefacing his question by a long speech, which made it easier for Lord Granville to give an answer which put an end to the question as far as this debate was concerned. Lord Granville was himself much too long. Lord Derby spoke, weak physically and (Lord Granville is obliged

[1] In a letter to his constituents, Mr. Bright, a Cabinet Minister, had written: "The Lords are not very wise, but there is sometimes profit to the people even in their innovations. If they should delay the passing of the Irish Church Bill for three months, they will stimulate discussion on important questions, which, but for their infatuation, might have slumbered for many years. It is possible that a good many people may ask what is the special value of a constitution which gives a majority of 100 in one House for a given policy, and a majority of 100 in another House against it. I may be asked also why the Crown, through its Ministers in the House of Commons, should be found in harmony with the nation, while the Lords are generally in direct opposition to it. Instead of doing a little childish tinkering about life peerages, it would be well if the Peers could bring themselves in a line with the opinions and necessities of our day. In harmony with the nation, they may go on for a long time; but, throwing themselves athwart its course, they may meet with accidents not pleasant for them to think of. But there are not a few good and wise men among the Peers, and we will hope their counsels may prevail."

to add, with the Duke of Cambridge and many Conservative peers) mentally. It was almost melancholy to see the change in his power, and there were things about the Coronation oath which he ought certainly not to have said. Lord Kimberley followed, speaking clearly and logically as usual. The Duke of Devonshire was good and sensible, but the only important speech was an admirable one from Lord Salisbury,[1] who certainly, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, will carry the second reading of the Bill.

16 Bruton Street, 19*th June*.— . . . The debate of to-night has been worthy of one of the most remarkable discussions that has taken place for years.

Begun by Lord Russell in a speech of great merit, with an amusing sneer at "an awkward volunteer firing off his piece without the orders of his commanding officer," and a severe criticism on the Government, it was continued by the Duke of Abercorn, voice and manner perfect, matter middling. Then the Duke of Argyll more aggressive and incisive than usual, but perfectly prudent. Bishop of Lichfield, long and tiresome, a good deal about himself, but with power. Lord Westbury a complete failure. The Chancellor good, and Lord Cairns in a very long and powerful speech. Lord Granville finished in a speech which this time was not too long.

The House divided, and the Bill was carried by a majority of 33. A large number of Bishops voted in the minority; some, including Archbishops of Canterbury and York, stayed away. None had the courage to vote, but the Bishop of St. David's, for the Bill.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

20*th June* 1869.—My Accession Day, already thirty-two years ago. May God help me in my solitary path, for the good of my dear people, and

[1] Lord Cranborne, by his father's death, had in the previous year succeeded to the Marquisate of Salisbury.

the world at large. He has given me a very difficult task, one for which I feel myself in many ways unfit, from inclination and want of power. He gave me great happiness, and He took it away, no doubt for a wise purpose and for the happiness of my beloved one, leaving me alone to bear the heavy burden in very trying and troubled times. Help I have been given, and for this I humbly thank Him; but the trials are great and many.

Mr. Childers to Queen Victoria.

ADMIRALTY, 26*th June* 1869.—Mr. Childers presents his humble duty to your Majesty: and he has the honour to submit that an order in the sense of your Majesty's commands, namely that moustaches should not be worn without beards, has been approved, and will be issued to the Fleet as soon as it can be printed.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DUFFERIN LODGE, HIGHGATE, 4*th July* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that he has considered carefully, with Lord Granville, the probable time required for disposing of the remaining business connected with the Irish Church Bill. They think it will, in all likelihood, be read a third time in the House of Lords on Monday the 12th: and the Lords' Amendments will in that case be considered by the Commons on Thursday the 15th. There is no reason to suppose they will require prolonged discussion there. The whole of this great matter may even be settled on the 16th: but to allow liberally, and presuming some controversy between the Houses, the 19th or the 20th (Tuesday) is the latest day to which it can be anticipated that the discussions could extend. The only critical portion of the subject would thus lie, as is likely, between the 15th and the 19th or 20th instant.

The division of Friday night on "concurrent endowment"[1] has obviated a formidable agitation in the country, and has greatly improved the chances of a settlement; to which, if all available means be employed, Mr. Gladstone now looks forward with greater confidence than heretofore.

Mr. Gladstone is well aware of your Majesty's intention and desire to go to Osborne in about a week, and deeply anxious to avoid troubling your Majesty in respect to your personal movements for any reason, except such as he knows that, if it be duly brought to your Majesty's knowledge, your Majesty would not fail to consider adequate.

If Mr. Gladstone does not misinterpret your Majesty's mind in relation to this great national question, your Majesty on the one hand would require from your confidential servants that, saving the general principle and main objects of the Bill intact, they should make every possible concession to the House of Lords, and to the interest of the disestablished body: and that, if satisfied as to this condition, your Majesty would be prepared to employ, in such manner as might commend itself to your judgment, that great and just influence, and mediating power, which in given circumstances your Majesty would possess with reference to one or more of the persons most likely to influence the judgment of the House of Lords in the last resort.

The time of the Ministers is a matter of small importance, in comparison with your Majesty's comfort. But this, if differences were to arise between the Houses, would be a crisis, for a parallel to which we must revert to the year 1832. Every day added to the continuance of such a crisis is nothing less than a great public evil: and it is of the utmost importance that, if occasion should arise for any steps of any kind to be taken outside the walls of Parliament, there should be time for them between

[1] The principle of concurrent endowment was defeated in Committee, but was inserted into the Bill at a later stage by a narrow majority.

the sitting of one day and the sitting of the next. At a period so peculiar, the bare fact of your Majesty's distance at Osborne would be the certain subject of observation. But this is not the point, which Mr. Gladstone humbly desires to bring into clear view: it is the actual loss of opportunities vital to the public welfare, and the increase of public excitement, of hazard, and of strain on the powers of the Constitution possibly not to be thereafter repaired, which might ensue, if the right instrument were not employed at the right moment.

Mr. Gladstone hopes he has conveyed to the mind of your Majesty that it is for no slight or secondary purpose that he has thus ventured to represent to your Majesty, the great importance of your Majesty's being at no greater distance than Windsor, between the 15th and the 19th or 20th of July. For, at Windsor, it would be quite possible for your Majesty to communicate both with Ministers, and, if need were, with any other persons, should your Majesty see fit, between the sitting of one day, and the sitting of the next. At Osborne, this could not be done; and the mere attempt to do it would involve discomfort to your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone hopes that difficulties will not arise. But, if they should come, they would come suddenly, and would be of a very serious kind: and Mr. Gladstone could never either forgive himself, or hope for forgiveness from your Majesty, if he had not, to the best of his ability, set out before your Majesty what he conceives might prove to be the very safest, as well as the most effectual, means of averting them.

Mr. Gladstone has never troubled your Majesty in detail with the concessions and adjustments which the Government are prepared to make: but they are of course at your Majesty's command.

Mr. Gladstone humbly states, in conclusion, that he has advisedly abstained from consulting the Cabinet on the subject of this letter. It is more agreeable alike to his duty and to his feelings, to lay

before your Majesty in his imperfect manner both the possibility of evils, and the hope and likelihood of good that would be worthy of your Majesty's name and reign, and so submit the case to your Majesty's unbiased judgment, than to fortify himself with the support of his colleagues and thus seem to make another and less impartial appeal.

[*Copy*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR, *5th July* 1869.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's letter of yesterday.

This proposal of Mr. Gladstone's to her to remain away from Osborne for a period protracted so late into the summer, as the 20th July, is one which involves so great a sacrifice of the Queen's *health* and *comfort*, and such a derangement of her subsequent plans for the remainder of the season, that *nothing* could justify it but the imminence of a *very uncommon* crisis in public affairs, not of probable recurrence. She admits, however, that the untoward position which this unfortunate question of the Irish Church has assumed between the two Houses may be regarded in this light. Nothing less would induce her to undergo so serious a trial to her strength, as a longer residence away from the sea at this time of year, to which she has been accustomed for twenty-four years, will occasion, from her anxiety, as Sovereign, that the most favourable terms may be concluded and carried into effect, for the benefit of the Irish Protestant establishment.

But for this very reason she must ask Mr. Gladstone to bear in mind, that this *must* be regarded as an *entirely isolated* case, and that it must *never* be made a *precedent* for any *similar* representation, on the part of her Ministers to her, in succeeding years, when her powers of meeting these constant calls upon her will be continually diminishing.

Mr. Gladstone gives his reasons, for the critical period, when the Queen's being near at hand would be so much needed, being between the 15th and

the 20th, and she will therefore not settle definitively any day for her departure for Osborne till the critical period is passed, hoping that she may be able to go there sooner than at present is anticipated, at all events not later than the 19th July.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 8*th July* 1869.—Lord Bessborough spoke of the Irish Church question with great regret, was all for concurrent endowment, but said it could *not* have been carried; that the whole question was most unfortunate. Upon which I observed, Why had it been brought on last year? Lord B. laughed and said: "Where would Mr. Gladstone have been?" —a terrible admission and one which Mr. Gladstone persuades himself is not so.

[*Copy*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11*th July* 1869.—The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's letters of yesterday.

She is well aware that in introducing and carrying this measure through the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone has acted most conscientiously on his view of what was for the good of the country, and she is sure that he will carry the same spirit to the consideration of the amendments sent down from the House of Lords.

The Queen does not wish to suggest the particular points on which she herself may think concessions might be made; but she would remark that it seems very doubtful how far the country has pronounced in favour of the measure as regards disendowment.

Those amongst the friends of the Irish Church who are anxious for the settlement of this question on moderate conditions, still think *some* permanent endowment necessary, and the Queen would ask Mr. Gladstone to consider well how far he can go towards meeting their wishes, and what concessions he can agree to, in this direction, rather than run the risk

of losing the Bill altogether; and on this point she would strongly urge Mr. Gladstone to consider that, as his influence in the House of Commons is deservedly greater than has usually fallen to the lot of any Minister, it will depend very much upon the exertion [of it] what concessions the House of Commons may be brought to make. The Queen believes that whatever Mr. Gladstone shall think himself justified in proposing, the majority in the House of Commons will accept rather than risk the loss of the Bill.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 12*th July* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone acknowledges, with his humble duty, your Majesty's gracious letter of yesterday. Your Majesty does him only justice in believing that it is his desire, as it is that of his colleagues, to act in respect to the Irish Church Bill, for the general good, which certainly dictates a spirit of conciliation: but your Majesty will perceive that there are limits, within which the power of action is confined.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, in particular, has embraced an idea that the country has not passed its judgment on the subject of disendowment. His means of information must be inferior to the means of those, who were everywhere in contact with the people: and of the majority in the House of Commons there is probably not a single man who would accept this opinion.

Were Mr. Gladstone, or the Government generally, to adopt it, the simple result would be, that they would lose the confidence of the House of Commons.

But the misfortune is that on this unfounded opinion the House of Lords has been led to act: to the extent, moreover, of giving to a disendowed Church, in one form or another, little short of nine-tenths of the property it holds in an endowed condition.

Mr. Gladstone sees with grief that the only result of persistence in such a course can be to establish a

permanent discord between the House of Lords and the country, and probably, as the first effect, to produce a movement against the Episcopal seats in the House of Lords, such as has never yet been seen.

It will be the duty and desire of the Government to do all in their power to avert these great mischiefs. In evidence of their disposition they confidently point to the general structure of the Bill as it left the House of Commons. They can see their way to further improvements of the condition of the Church in point of property which, as compared with the Bill of the Commons, would amount to three-quarters of a million. But to the extravagant claims now made neither their duty would permit nor their power enable them to accede.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 17*th July* 1869.—Saw Mr. Gladstone a little after four, looking very ill. He spoke of the Cabinet which had just been held, and said he thought I should know that the Government was prepared to make further pecuniary concessions *if* the Lords would not press their amendments; and even said he thought, should they insist on the appropriation of the surplus not being settled this year, the Cabinet and the House of Commons might be brought to accede, but not anything else. He wished that the Archbishop should know this, and left it to *me* to say *how*. I urged his consulting the good Dean, with whom he is great friends. He was greatly alarmed lest the Lords should do anything to irritate the country against them, but still hoped they would *not*.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE, 19*th July* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty; and, having had the advantage of seeing the Dean of Windsor this afternoon, who will have reported

to your Majesty as from him before the hour at which this letter is written, he need not trouble your Majesty with many details.

Both yesterday and to-day, some intimations were conveyed to Lord Granville and to Mr. Gladstone of the views entertained by the leading Peers of the Opposition. They did not afford much hope of a settlement, inasmuch as they proceeded upon the assumption that, of the many questions at issue between the two Houses of Parliament, the greater part was to be yielded by the House of Commons. The answer made was to the effect that the Government had already done all that they could do consistently with the principle and basis of the Bill: and that all which remained for them was to recommend out of simple deference to the House of Lords, and not as on its merits, some further and necessarily very moderate concession.

The interview which your Majesty was so gracious as to procure for Mr. Gladstone with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and which without doubt had been well prepared by the judicious action of the Dean of Windsor, was much more satisfactory. Mr. Gladstone went through a variety of particulars, none of which did the Archbishop seem decisively to contest; and altogether the Archbishop both showed a conciliatory temper in general, and used language which might be considered as implying that some one substantial yet moderate concession might settle the affair. On the whole therefore there is some improvement in the prospect, though great uncertainty still prevails, and no confidence can yet be felt as to the issue.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

11 Carlton H. Terrace, 20*th*–21*st July* 1869.— . . . The crisis apprehended in the House of Lords arrived about eleven o'clock, when the House by a majority of 175 to 93 re-excluded from the preamble the words which the House of Commons had placed

and replaced there in order to declare solemnly the policy of Parliament for matters ecclesiastical in Ireland. This amendment, independently of all those which were announced as about to follow, contained matter, or rather involved a meaning which no power could induce the present House of Commons to accept. Lord Granville thereupon moved the adjournment of the debate. The Cabinet is summoned for to-morrow: and will very probably find itself unable with advantage to carry the Bill further forwards.[1]

Mr. Gladstone regrets to report that the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with every Prelate present except the Bishop of Oxford, voted in the majority.

He is apprehensive that feeling will be much excited in the country: but he may safely assure your Majesty that it will be the constant desire and endeavour of the Government to keep the controversy upon its present ground, that of the Irish Church, and to prevent any widening of its field, which they would regard as a great calamity.

[*Copy*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 22*nd July* 1869.—The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for all his letters received yesterday, as well as for the telegram, and the communication received this morning with a full account of the deliberations of the Cabinet. She was deeply grieved to see that the hopes of an amicable settlement between both Houses, which we had good reason to entertain on Monday, were all frustrated on Tuesday night. The Queen, however, rejoices to see that the most moderate counsels have prevailed in the Cabinet, and she still hopes that if a conciliatory spirit is shown in the House of Commons, and attempts to

[1] The Cabinet rejected this extreme course, and determined to proceed at any rate with the endowment amendments. In consequence of this moderation, Lord Cairns communicated with Lord Granville, and a settlement was effected. See Introductory Note.

coerce and override the House of Lords are abstained from, that the House of Lords will also meet them in a spirit of conciliation, and then this most unhappy question may be settled this Session.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

Colonial Office, 22*nd July* 1869.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He had great pleasure in announcing to your Majesty by telegraph a result to which your Majesty has so much contributed both before the second reading of the Bill, and at the last stage.[1]

Your Majesty will see by the newspapers the course of the debate. Lord Cairns' statement was clear, fair, and very skilful. The Archbishop of Canterbury supported him, but in a speech which was calculated to injure the compromise exceedingly in the House of Commons. The unanimous chorus in favour of moderation was almost ridiculous, particularly after the discussion on Tuesday. Lord Russell ended by great praise of the Bill, which settled in a satisfactory way a question which he had had at heart for thirty-five years. Even Lord Grey admitted that the Ministers were not as bad as he had supposed them to be. Lord Derby, however, was indignant. When Lord Cairns had finished, he said, loud enough for the Government to hear, "I shall go away." He then whispered something to Lord Salisbury, and on passing Lord Cairns said, "I have nothing left but to go away."

Lord Salisbury did not succeed in regaining the ground he had lost. Although he said that it was necessary to support Lord Cairns, and that he believed he had acted according to his conscience, he suggested that he, Lord Salisbury, should have tried, and should have succeeded in getting better terms. The House would not laugh at the only joke he made.

[1] On receipt of the telegram from Lord Granville and a similar one from Mr. Gladstone, the Queen wrote in her Journal: "What a wonderful change and *dénoûment*! Truly thankful do I feel."

The division that took place was a surprise, and was disapproved by all the leaders in the House. The account from the Commons is excellent; everybody in favour of the compromise.

Lord Granville ventures to suggest to your Majesty to send a line to Mr. Gladstone to approve the conciliatory line which he sanctioned.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 23*rd July* 1869.—The Queen has received Mr. Gladstone's in cypher, as well as Lord Granville's telegrams, and Mr. Gladstone's letter this morning, with the greatest satisfaction and relief.

Lord Granville seems indeed to have displayed more than his ordinary tact and conciliatoriness on this occasion; and, on his side, Lord Cairns seems to have met him in a conciliatory spirit.

The Queen is sorry, but not surprised, to hear of Mr. Gladstone's indisposition, which she trusts will not be of long duration.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 24*th July* 1869.—Spoke after dinner to Lord Granville of the great success of his negotiations. He saw Lord Cairns three times, not the least expecting to succeed, but thinking no stone should be left unturned. The first proposals of Lord Cairns had been inadmissible; but in the third interview all was successful. Lord Cairns had seemed very nervous when he left Lord Granville, but had behaved extremely well. Mr. Gladstone had been all for giving up the Bill, and so had Mr. Cardwell, but *all* the others went with Lord Granville, including Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Bright, who had at first been the other way.

Sir Thomas Biddulph to Queen Victoria.

21*st Aug.* 1869.—Sir Thomas Biddulph has seen Lord Granville and has spoken with him as to Mr. Gladstone's proposals. With regard to Mr. Ayrton's appointment, he explained that it was a matter of

considerable importance to your Majesty that the Chief Commissioner of Works should be a person with whom the business relative to the Royal Palaces and Parks could be agreeably transacted, and that your Majesty did not feel any confidence that such would be [the] case if Mr. Ayrton were appointed.

Lord Granville stated that there were strong reasons for making a change at the Treasury, as Mr. Lowe and Mr. Ayrton did not go on well together, and that Mr. Gladstone had received intimations from his supporters, that next Session they should expect considerable economical measures to be proposed, which Mr. Gladstone's Government had not had an opportunity of bringing forward this year. For these reasons, it is no doubt desirable to put a person at the head of the Board of Works in whom the House of Commons will have confidence. Mr. Layard, though a very able man, has not satisfied the House.

Perhaps your Majesty may, either in conversation or by writing, be pleased to intimate to Lord Granville, for Mr. Gladstone's information, your Majesty's feeling that the appointment of Mr. Ayrton would not be an agreeable one, and that Mr. Gladstone should propose some other scheme. Lord Granville knows, from what Sir T. Biddulph said to him, various reasons which exist against it.[1] . . .

The Earl of Clarendon to Queen Victoria.

WIESBADEN, 21*st Aug.* 1869.—Lord Clarendon presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and gratefully begs to acknowledge the receipt of your Majesty's most kind letter of the 17th. . . .

Lord Clarendon stopped at Coblenz to see the Queen of Prussia by her Majesty's desire. She seemed to think that Ct. Bismarck's retirement was owing to illness caused by over-excitement, and that he was not an indispensable necessity to the King. H.M. considered that the cause of peace would be promoted by the death of Marshal Niel, who was the

[1] The Queen eventually consented to Mr. Ayrton's appointment.

bête noire of Prussia as the instigator of war, which Lord Clarendon said was to the best of his belief a mistake, for although Marshal Niel had placed the army on a footing of greater completeness than at any former period of French history, yet that he did not meddle in politics and always said that the *use* to be made of the Army depended on the Emperor alone.

The Queen [of Prussia] shares the opinion, now pretty general, that Ct. Beust is the *enfant terrible* of Europe, and H.M. considers him one of the chief obstacles to a better understanding between Prussia and Austria. The Queen thinks that the danger more imminent than any other at this moment is the democratic spirit which now prevails, and is rapidly increasing in Germany. Lord Clarendon is inclined to share H.M.'s apprehensions, as democracy in Germany means Socialism, i.e. the subversion of all those laws by which Society is held together. The organised associations of the working classes in different countries for establishing the rights of labour, which is too often war against capital, is a new and not pleasant feature in the present time.

The Prussian rule in this part of Germany becomes more detested every day; increased taxation, conscription, and espionage are not calculated to render a new régime popular. The King of Prussia was here last week and was so ill received, as Lord Clarendon heard, that he went away on the following day, leaving undone some of the functions that he had promised to perform.

Princess Alice has done Lord and Lady Clarendon the honour to desire that they will go over to Darmstadt on Monday and see her Royal Highness.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Gladstone.[1]

[*Copy.*]

PARIS, 18*th September* 1869.

MY DEAR GLADSTONE,—The Emperor said the state of things had greatly changed for the better since we last met, in October, when he thought that

[1] Submitted by Mr. Gladstone to the Queen.

war could hardly be avoided, but that now it was very improbable, and he was pleased to add that the free interchange of opinions between the King of Prussia and himself, of which I was the medium, had promoted the change. He was interested in the report I made him of the pacific determination of Germany, of the centrifugal spirit of the South, and the absence of any engagement whatever between Russia and Prussia. I told him, if France was aggressive, it would do more in a month to cement Germany together than Bismarck would achieve in five years, and that, if Austria joined France against Prussia, Russia would aid the latter. He said he had been much pressed to form an offensive and defensive alliance with Austria and Italy, but that he had rejected the project as imprudent and useless; it would in the first place irritate Prussia, and perhaps drive her into active hostility, and such an engagement would have no real binding power on Austria and Italy, if they did not choose to help him, and if it suited them to do so, a Treaty would not be necessary. I spoke of the monster armaments, the intolerable burden they imposed upon the people, and the constant danger of war that they created. He agreed, but said that during the King of Prussia's life, and as long as the present Prussian system existed, he thought no change of importance could be effected. His tone, however, on the subject was very satisfactory. . . .

The Emperor was very communicative about Reform in France, which he said had been precipitated, and not introduced as he wished. When the Elections laid bare the real opinion of France, and the desire to replace personal by Parliamentary Government, he determined *motu proprio* to make the necessary changes when the Chambers met in December, but then came the interpellation signed by some of the best friends of the Government, and he could not say "No" in July, after having determined to say "Yes" in December. There had

consequently not been sufficient thought and care bestowed on the measure, but still he felt confident that it would be successful, although in saying so he knew he was reckoning upon the moderation and good sense of the nation, which might be rash. In discussing the probable consequences of increased liberty he showed no alarm, but said that what was promised must be really performed.

The Empress, whom I saw afterwards, was not so free from alarm, but was eloquent upon the sincerity and unselfishness with which the Emperor was prepared to strip himself of the power he had hitherto exercised. She spoke with bitterness of Prince Napoleon's attempt to outbid the Emperor in liberality, and declared that his speech had no other object than to secure the sole Regency for himself. As she asked my opinion and advice, I ventured to suggest that the hostility which existed between herself and the Prince Napoleon was dangerous, and that it was her duty to make a friend of him, which would not be difficult, and that she should remember that Charles X and Louis Philippe had fallen, not by their enemies in the street, but by family dissensions and divided counsels. She said, "Vous avez bien raison." She means to go eastward, if the Emperor is well, as the abandonment of her journey would make everyone believe that he might at any moment become seriously ill. She has not been alarmed about him recently, as he had precisely the same maladies which went through all the same phases, and lasted eight weeks, three years ago, but it fortunately happened at Biarritz, and the journalists and stockjobbers knew nothing about it. She, like the Emperor, said that nothing was more important to France than the maintenance of the present good understanding with England.—CLARENDON.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

BALMORAL, 22*nd Sept.* 1869.— . . . Mr. Gladstone has found great comfort and advantage in

copious communication, for many months back, with the Dean of Windsor, respecting the persons most suited to be preferred to Bishoprics, and also to particular Sees. Respecting the merits and claims of individuals for high preferment, he has also had much communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and with other persons of various positions and many shades of opinion.

On the present unusual occasion of three Sees vacant at once, he has felt anxious to take time for complete enquiry and consideration, as the appointments should, he humbly conceives, be such as to show some regard to the allowable variety of feelings and opinions prevailing in the Church.

Mr. Gladstone would now humbly recommend to your Majesty as follows:

1. That, on account of his distinguished powers and great practical services, the Bishop of Oxford should, on the coming vacancy, be translated to the See of Winchester.

2. That, by reason of his very high character, and remarkable abilities for administration and otherwise, and also of his probable influence in the House of Lords, Dr. Temple be preferred to the See of Exeter.

3. That Archdeacon Lord Arthur Hervey be Bishop of Bath and Wells.

4. That Mr. Mackarness, Rector of Honiton, be Bishop of Oxford.

All these are men having the indispensable requisites of personal piety and devotion.

Lord A. Hervey has station, very good abilities, and some name as a writer: and would probably be acceptable to those known as the Low Church.

Mr. Mackarness has had a distinguished parochial career: he is a man of considerable force, with known moderation and judgment: he had the confidence of his brother clergy as their representative in Convocation, until they withdrew it on account of his opinions respecting the Irish Church: but he would have enough of sympathy with Bishop Wilberforce, to be

able to take up the affairs of his Diocese without any shock or disturbance.

As Mr. Gladstone has the honour of being under your Majesty's roof, he forbears to trouble your Majesty with any further written explanation.

There are certain questions connected with the two Dioceses of Winchester and Exeter, which might have to be reserved in offering the respective appointments: but Mr. Gladstone is hardly able, as yet, to describe them to your Majesty; and they do not bear in any manner on the choice of persons to fill the Sees.

Sir Thomas Biddulph to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*] BALMORAL, 29*th September* 1869.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—The Queen desires me to return you the Memorial in favour of the Fenian prisoners, which is very properly and respectfully worded, and to which of course a suitable answer should be sent.

With regard to the question of the release of these men, the Queen cannot help entertaining a strong opinion, partly founded on the unsuccessful result of the clemency shown to the prisoners released this year, and partly founded on the present condition of Ireland, and the well-known disposition of the Fenians in the United States, to make a raid on Canada, if their means allowed it. There is no proof anywhere that the abettors of Fenianism have abated in the slightest degree in their hostility to the Crown and Government of this country. The Queen thinks that, until there is some reason to suppose that these men if released would neither have the desire nor the power of doing mischief, clemency extended to them could hardly fail to be a cause of danger, and to create alarm in the minds of all peaceable and well-disposed subjects of the Queen, who naturally look to the Executive Government for security against the acts of men whose previous conduct showed them capable

of any amount of outrage, and who, if the Queen may judge from the proceedings of the confederacy in the United States, only want an opportunity again to commit violence. I am, very faithfully yours, T. M. BIDDULPH.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 16*th Oct.* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and, having just returned from Chester after the departure of the Prince of Wales,[1] has to report that he never witnessed in any place a more loyal or a more successful demonstration, and that the demeanour and entire proceedings of the Prince, including his speech at the Town Hall, were such as in the judgment of everyone left nothing to be desired.

Mr. Gladstone watches with care every indication of trouble with respect to the See of Exeter; and he thinks it likely that some formal remonstrance may be made, or some other proceeding attempted, with reference to the nomination of Dr. Temple. As yet, Mr. Gladstone has not observed that such proceedings will be favoured by the more sober-minded even of those who disapprove: and he is very glad to learn from Dr. Temple, that warm and friendly letters had been written to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Oxford, Ely, and Worcester, Archdeacon Phillpotts (son of the late eminent Prelate), and many clergy of the Diocese. Nothing has occurred to lead Mr. Gladstone to regret his recommendation of Dr. Temple to your Majesty.

Having sufficiently collected the opinions of many of his colleagues, including Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone is preparing (in concert with the Irish Government), a reply conformable to their unanimous opinions, which refuses to accede to the further extension of indulgence to the Fenian prisoners lately made the subject of numerous requests. Mr. Gladstone has

[1] Who had visited Chester to open the Exchange and Town Hall.

arrived, for himself, at this conclusion with reluctance, but without any doubt whatever. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 6*th Nov.* 1869.—I am afraid I can only give a very imperfect account of this most successful and gratifying progress and ceremony. Drove [from Paddington Station] the same way we usually do, going to Buckingham Palace and from there down the Mall and up to Westminster Palace. Everywhere great crowds of people and many amongst them well-dressed, all cheering and bowing and in the best of humour. Crossed Westminster Bridge, going up Stamford Street, all the time at a gentle trot, the streets admirably kept. From here the crowds became more and more dense, the decorations commenced, and the enthusiasm was very great—not a window empty and people up to the very tops of the houses, flags and here and there inscriptions, everyone with most friendly faces. The day was cold, but quite fine, no fog and, though no real sunshine, there were occasional glimpses of it.

At 12 o'clock we reached Blackfriars Bridge, the first portion of which was entirely covered in; here on a platform with raised seats and many people, stood the Lord Mayor, who presented the sword, which I merely touched, and he introduced the engineer, Mr. Cubitt (son of the eminent engineer Sir William Cubitt, well known to my dearest Albert) and another gentleman. I was presented with an Address and a fine illuminated book describing the whole. The Bridge was then considered opened, but neither I nor the Lord Mayor said so. This however has not been found out. The Lord Mayor, Mr. Bruce,[1] etc., hurried off to their carriages, during which time there was rather an awkward pause, and we were well, but very kindly, stared at, and continually cheered. I was able to say a few words to Mr. Cubitt.

[1] The Home Secretary.

At length we moved on, preceded by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and some of the Aldermen, which led to very frequent complete stoppages. The greatest and most enthusiastic crowds were in the City. From the Bridge we proceeded through New Bridge Street to the foot of Ludgate Hill and Fleet Street. The crowds were quite immense, up to the very roofs, and down every small street as far as the eye could reach. We passed under the Viaduct, of which we admired the splendid pillars and ornaments, then went up Charterhouse Street by Smithfield, passing the great fine new Meat Market, decorated with flags and streamers, past St. Bartholomew's, through Giltspur Street near the playgrounds of the Blue Coat School, where the boys were met in great numbers on a stand, past St. Sepulchre's Church, where many charity children were collected. The Holborn Valley Viaduct ends here, close to Newgate, and here we came upon the finely decorated Viaduct, where the same ceremony took place as at Blackfriars. After passing over this, the Lord Mayor and his procession left us, and from Holborn we trotted on again. Everywhere dense crowds. I never saw more enthusiastic, loyal or friendly ones, and there were numbers of the very lowest. This, in the very heart of London, at a time when people were said to be intending to do something, and were full of all sorts of ideas, is very remarkable.

Felt so pleased and relieved that all had gone off so well. Nothing could have been more gratifying. But it was a hard trial for me *all alone* with my children in an open carriage amongst such thousands!

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Extract.*] WINDSOR CASTLE, *24th November* 1869.

DEAREST BERTIE, . . . I wish just to say that Louise is most *decided* in her wish to *settle* in her *own* country (as she has told you both), and indeed I am equally of this opinion, having ascertained that there

are no difficulties which will not be easily overcome; and I have written to Vicky, *without mentioning* THIS, that neither Louise nor I would ever hear of the Prussian marriage, which must be considered *at an end*. . . .

I wished you should know this, dear Child, but would beg you *not* to mention it to a *soul*, but to dear Alix; you might, however, if you liked, speak to Lord Granville and the Dean, who are the only ones I have talked fully to about it, and who are strongly in favour of the plan I have mentioned and decided on. Ever your devoted Mama, V. R.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*]

CLAREMONT, 29*th Nov.* 1869.— . . . I thank you for your letter received on Saturday. There is nothing about which I am more anxious than that you and I should hold together about so important a subject as this concerning Louise's future. What I am *irreconcilably against* is the Prussian alliance, and I have every reason to think that you agree with me.

That which you object to *I feel* certain will be *for* Louise's happiness and for the peace and quiet of the family.

Times have much changed; great foreign alliances are looked on as causes of trouble and anxiety, and are of no good. What could be more painful than the position in which our family were placed during the wars with Denmark, and between Prussia and Austria? Every family feeling was rent asunder, and we were powerless. The Prussian marriage, supposing even Louise wished it and liked the Prince (whereas she has not even seen him since she was a child), would be one which would cause nothing but trouble and annoyances and unhappiness, and which *I never* would *consent* to. Nothing is more unpopular here or more uncomfortable for *me* and everyone, than the long residence of our married daughters from

abroad in my house, with the quantities of foreigners they bring with them, the foreign view they entertain on all subjects; and in beloved Papa's lifetime this was totally different, and besides Prussia had not swallowed everything up. You may not be aware, as I am, with what *dislike* the marriages of Princesses of the Royal family with small German Princes (German beggars as they most insultingly were called) were looked [on], and how in former days many of our Statesmen like Mr. Fox, Lord Melbourne and Lord Holland abused these marriages, and said how wrong it was that alliances with noblemen of high rank and fortune, which had always existed formerly and which are perfectly legal, were no longer allowed by the Sovereign. Now that the Royal family is so large (you have already five, and *what* will these be when your brothers marry?) in these days, when you ask Parliament to give money to all the Princesses to be *spent abroad*, when they could perfectly marry here and the children succeed just as much as if they were the children of a Prince or Princess, we could not maintain this exclusive principle. As to position I see *no* difficulty whatever; Louise remains what she is, and her husband keeps his rank (like the Mensdorffs and Victor), only being treated in the family as a relation when we are together.

I wish you would talk to the Dean and Lord Granville about it, you would see how well every side has been weighed, and how strong the reasons are for such an alliance. It will strengthen the *hold* of the Royal family, besides infusing new and healthy blood into it, whereas all the Princes abroad are related to one another; and while I could continue these foreign alliances with several members of the family, I feel sure that *new* blood will strengthen the Throne *morally* as well as physically. In Mary's case it would have been more difficult, as she would hardly have been able for many reasons to maintain her rank as my daughter could.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13*th Dec.* 1869.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his reports of the proceedings of the Cabinet. She would wish no important measures to be decided on without being duly submitted to her. She would also wish to see regularly the reports which Mr. Gladstone receives from Ireland, as she hears nothing but by the papers. Formerly the Lord Lieutenant's letters used always to be sent to the Queen. She believes, Mr. Fortescue being in the Cabinet, he now reports to Mr. Gladstone. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 14*th Dec.* 1869.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and with reference to your Majesty's letter of yesterday, he humbly states that he has communicated with Mr. Fortescue respecting the submission to your Majesty of reports from Ireland, which relate to the condition of the country; and he will arrange with the Viceroy and the Home Secretary according to your Majesty's desire.

With regard to the preparation of legislative measures in general, Mr. Gladstone has made it his practice, when he reports the proceedings at successive Cabinets, to name specially to your Majesty the course proposed to be pursued in respect to any and all measures of which, so far as he can judge, your Majesty would desire to take special cognisance, in the hope that your Majesty would thus be enabled in a convenient manner to notice it. Should Mr. Gladstone fall into any error of omission or otherwise in this respect, he will be thankful for your Majesty's correction. . . .

Lady Augusta Stanley to Queen Victoria.

DEANERY, WESTMINSTER, *Tuesday night,* 21*st December* 1869.

MADAM,—I am sure that your Majesty will be pleased to learn that all passed off well to-day.[1]

[1] At the consecration of Bishop Temple in Westminster Abbey.

The Bishop of London dealt admirably with the foolish protests which were sent in at the last moment. The old Bishop of St. David's came up all the way from Wales to be present, and it was delightful to hear his voice, so powerful and full of meaning.

The sermon was much superior to what we expected, and very affecting from the real love and veneration for Dr. Temple to which it testified.

It was a very great happiness to the Dean to witness here the accomplishment of this his most earnest desire, and to have had, at the same service, the grateful task of announcing the improvement in the Archbishop's health, and of returning thanks for that great blessing; this day being the Archbishop's birthday, the coincidence was doubly affecting.

The Congregation in the Abbey was very large, and numbers of *very unfashionable* looking people remained for the Communion.

A stranger asked me, as we came out, who a lady was, who had showed great emotion during the Service and had wept bitterly. It happened to be Jenny Lind, but I did not tell the name; I merely replied, "It is the Mother of a Rugby Boy who knows what her Son is losing," and so it is.

It has been a very exciting day, and the Bishop is much exhausted. . . .

The Earl of Mayo to Queen Victoria.

Calcutta, 27*th Dec.* 1869.—The Viceroy and Governor-General of India presents his most humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to inform your Majesty, that his Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh arrived at Calcutta on Wednesday the 22nd. Owing to a fortunate state of the tide, the *Galatea* was enabled to come right up the Hooghly at once, and his Royal Highness landed at Prinseps Ghat, within a few yards of Fort William. The hour appointed was four o'clock in the afternoon; and the ship would have arrived at the proper time had it not

been that, when she met the fresh water in the river, it had such an effect upon her boilers that she was obliged to reduce her speed by one-half. There was an immense concourse of people on the Maidan, and a line of two miles and a quarter was formed on the plain, by three Regiments of European, and seven Regiments of Native Infantry. The form of procession described in the enclosed programme was followed, but unfortunately the night closed in before the long line of horsemen and carriages reached the middle of the Course, and it was quite dark when his Royal Highness reached Government House. The Duke looked remarkably well, he sat his Arab with great steadiness though he was rather fidgety, for, though an Eastern charger is well used to troops and to firing, he is quite unaccustomed to the cheering and clapping of hands which accompany popular demonstrations.

The whole scene, while light lasted, was very remarkable. Nothing like it was ever witnessed before at Calcutta. The natives turned out in immense numbers, and it is believed that every European resident in Calcutta and the neighbourhood was present. The side of the line reserved for carriages was lined with every description of conveyance, while the left side, which was kept wholly for Government people, was a great sea of heads. The natives appeared in all their finery, and the variety of colour, complexion and costume, made it a most picturesque assemblage. The troops comprised specimens of nearly all the races in the military service of your Majesty, while a semi-circle of seventy elephants in front of Government House made a most effective close to the pageant. . . .

On Thursday a Levée was held which was the largest which ever took place in India, being attended by seven Native Princes, and 1,500 European and Native gentlemen. In the evening the whole party witnessed a very fair display of fireworks on the Maidan, and afterwards drove for nearly four miles

hrough the City to see the general illuminations, hough for the most part they were conducted in the native fashion and consisted of an innumerable quantity of small lamps. The effect was excellent. The crowds in the streets of the native part of the city were enormous, and it is said that, of the 400,000 inhabitants of Calcutta, few were absent. The native police managed this immense concourse of people with great success, and with the exception of a few broken carriage panels no accident has been reported.

The Viceroy has great satisfaction in informing your Majesty that his Royal Highness has already won golden opinions from everyone here. He is most courteous and considerate, and appears sincerely desirous to please. He willingly adopts every suggestion made either by the Viceroy or Sir Neville Chamberlain, and the Viceroy has little doubt that his Royal Highness will during his visit comport himself in a way worthy of his position, and in a manner which will be satisfactory to your Majesty. . . .

END OF VOL. I

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES Hither Green BRANCH